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AUSTIN SMYTH

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THE COMPOSITION OF THE ILIAD

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THE COMPOSITION OF THE ILIAD

AN ESSAY ON A NUMERICAL LAW IN ITS STRUCTURE

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BY

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Οὗτοι γὰρ τὴν Ὁμήρου ποίησιν σκεδασθεῖσαν ἐμνημόνευον καὶ ἐπήγγελλον· ἐλυμήναντο δὲ αὐτὴν πάνυ.

Schol. Pind. Nem. II. 1

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PREFACE

THE object of this essay is to demonstrate that the Iliad of Homer at one time consisted of 13,500 lines, neither more nor less, divided into 45 sections of 300 verses each, with major divisions after the 15th and 30th of these; from which it follows that the remaining 2193 verses, which appear in our present texts, are more recent additions and ought to be removed.

The importance of this proposition, if established, will be evident to lovers of the poem. I will not dilate on it, but endeavour to establish it, after saying one thing more.

I profoundly dissent from that general view of the poem which regards its constitution as a secular growth, and of which, no doubt, the foremost exponent in our country is Dr. Leaf. And I am obliged to controvert his views at particular points, while heartily agreeing at others. It is possible that, in the ardour of discussion, I may have used some words which seem to disparage this eminent scholar,

though I cannot think it the case. But should any such impression arise, I desire to efface it by saying the truth, that his edition of the Iliad commands my deepest admiration, and that without it, as the reader will shortly perceive, I could hardly have proceeded at all.

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THE COMPOSITION OF THE ILIAD

CHAPTER I

BOOK THE FIRST TO BOOK THE EIGHTH

As the use of writing appears to have been but little known to the Greeks of Homer's age, it seemed to me a natural thing to inquire whether there might not be found in the Homeric poems some artificial aid to their preservation in the memory of man. The simplest of such aids is that of number. I therefore started an inquiry into the numerical length of any distinct group of incidents in the structure of the Iliad. For if it was known that each such group was exactly comprehended in a certain number of lines, then the several persons to whose memory it was committed could test the accuracy of their knowledge from time to time, and, if it was found to be at fault, could easily repair the defect by communication amongst themselves. In the course of this inquiry I could not help being struck by the fact that the incidents which fall between two important moments in the poem are often comprised

within either the exact number of 300 lines, or a number not much exceeding it. And upon examining the latter class of cases still further, in the light of those suspicions which scholars had antecedently been led to cast on particular lines, I found that they could be reduced to the round number of 300 with surprising neatness and ease. And upon applying this observation to passages of larger extent, which lie between two of the others, I found that the suspected passages regularly increased in size as well, being chiefly composed of long genealogies or popular tales, not very relevant to the context. And upon pursuing this hint in a systematic way throughout the poem, I gained so clear an idea of its articulation and proportion as to convince me that I had discovered an instrument which, whether it was designed or not to preserve the purity of the poem, might enable us to fix the extent of its interpolation after a time when this law of composition was either forgotten or ceased to be observed, and to mark down in most cases with practical certainty the interpolated lines.

The First Book affords a fitting introduction to our theory. It contains 611 lines. A natural pause occurs at verse 311, with the breaking up of the assembly, after which the action follows two main branches: first, the voyage of Odysseus to Chryse, and then the taking away of Briseis from Achilles, with the subsequent interview of Achilles and Thetis,

and the consequent interview of Thetis and Zeus. These events are exactly comprised in the last 300 lines of the book. This leaves us with 311 lines in the first part. Now there is a passage of Nestor's speech to the kings, in which he names the chiefs of the Lapithae, touches on their battle with the Centaurs, and describes the part that he played in it himself. One of these verses has excited the suspicion of every modern scholar, because it mentions the name of Theseus and recurs in the Hesiodic poem of the Shield of Heracles; but Dr. Leaf is disposed to regard the whole passage relating to the Lapithae as an interpolation, this being a very favourite Attic legend, not much known elsewhere. But all that is said about the Lapithae is exactly contained in the 11 verses 262–272. These you can detach, and leave a perfectly coherent text; but you cannot detach another line without injuring the context. "Ere now," says Nestor to the wrangling kings, "I have mixed among warriors even better than yourselves, and never used they to make light of me. And they would attend to my advice and hearken to my words. Then hearken also you." This is all quite coherent. But between the first and second sentence come the words, "For never yet have I seen, nor am likely to see, such men as Peirithous and Dryas and Caeneus and Exadius and godlike Polyphemus and Theseus, son of Aegeus, who resembled the immortal gods," and so on for 11 lines. The neat-

ness with which the verses go out would in any case be some argument for their interpolation. The fact that, when excised, they leave exactly 300 lines before the pause is to myself, knowing what I do, a convincing proof that they ought to be removed. We shall hereafter find two facts in support of this view; first, that the speeches of Nestor are a regular matrix for the foreign ore, and secondly, that a Lapith or the Lapithae are thrice again excluded by the tercentenary test.

We thus obtain two distinct passages of 300 lines apiece, which I call Canto I and Canto II. Now it might easily be an accident that the First Book consists of 600 lines. But it is not so like an accident both that it should consist of 600 lines and that its bisection after verse 300 should coincide with a natural division of the incidents. This reveals some first faint traces of design.

I pass over for the present the first part of the Second Book, for it is well known to be one of the most puzzling series of incidents in the whole of the poem, and I must inspire greater trust in the mind of the reader before asking him to accept my solution. Perhaps nothing could be better adapted to increase his confidence than the Catalogue of the Ships. For here is a distinct episode, which, on our presumption, ought to be contained either in 300 lines or in some multiple of it, with a pause after each third hundred. Well, the Catalogue of the

Ships, from ἔσπετε νῦν μοι Μοῦσαι in verse 484 down to μάλα δ' ὦκα διέπρησσον πεδίοιο in verse 785, makes 302 lines. There is very little doubt that one of these verses is spurious. It is the famous verse 558, in which Ajax is said to have stationed his ships where Athenian columns stood. For not only was there a strong tradition in antiquity that it was imported into the Catalogue by Solon, or else by Peisistratus, to serve a special end, but it contradicts other parts of the poem itself. The ships of Ajax are at one extremity of the Greek camp, as appears from XI 5–9, and next to them are not the columns of the Athenians, but the ships of Protesilaus, as we learn from XIII 681. Another harsh verse, which had better be gone, I regard as equally clear. It is 741, which interrupts the construction of the sentence in which it occurs, and hence is called by Dr. Leaf "a very clumsy line as the text stands." It ascribes the parentage of Peirithous to Zeus; and Peirithous is a Lapith. Remove these two verses, and you will have the Catalogue in substance as it came from the mouth of its composer. This is Canto IV.

Now if the reader will turn back to the first line of the Catalogue, he will see that it is preceded by a group of six similes, one after the other, in verses 455–483. That these similes should come after the Catalogue, and not before it, is as nearly as possible proved by the single word ἐρχομένων in verse 457,

which takes up ἐρχομένων in the last line of the Catalogue, and forms the transition to Canto V. How they have been displaced is easily explained. In some of our manuscripts the Catalogue is omitted, only the appeal to the Muses in verses 484–493 being retained; while in most of the others it is given a new title apart from that appeal, which means that it was often omitted in reading. But if the Catalogue is dropped, then the similes, which describe the appearance, the noise, the number, and the regulation of the host, must either be dropped as well, or else be removed from their original place at the close of the Catalogue, and be placed before the appeal to the Muses, so as to be readable when the Catalogue was left out. This was the object of that transposition. But transpose them back to their old place at the end of the Greek Catalogue, and they are wonderfully apt. For after the series of similes we turn to the Trojan scout Polites, or rather Iris, who has just assumed his form, and the first thing on which his words lay stress is the great magnitude of the Greek host, which has been so profusely depicted in the previous similes. He uses the very same comparison of it to leaves on the trees, which occurs among the similes themselves, and the whole proceeds in perfect harmony. And it is surely natural that these noble verses should come as a sort of relief, after the hearer's attention has been a little fatigued by the long enumeration, instead of

coming before it, when his interest is still fresh. Well, if the reader will transfer the 29 verses to their proper place, and subjoin the next 30 verses, which are necessary to bring the two hosts together, but leave out the Trojan Catalogue from Τρωσὶ μὲν ἡγεμόνευε in verse 816 to the end of the book, he will have 303 lines to the close of the Teichoscopia at Book III 244, where there is an obvious pause in the action.

I need not waste many words in attacking the Trojan Catalogue, because I suppose that but few would be found to defend it. Compared with the Catalogue of the Ships, which gives us every kind of original information about the Greek chiefs, it is a jejune and lifeless production, very largely compiled from other parts of the poem, and sometimes very carelessly compiled. For instance, at verse 862 Ascanius is said to be leading the Phrygians into battle; but we know from XIII 794 that Ascanius had not as yet arrived at Troy. And an opposite mistake is committed about Asteropaeus, an important leader of the Paeonians, who is left out because it is stated at XXI 156 that he had only been ten days at Troy; but the ten days will easily include the day supposed in the Catalogue. Hence we hear of a line by some put in to supply the omission of this important person. Then in verse 848 the Paeonians are described as emphatically bowmen, which agrees indeed with the Doloneia at

X 428, but disagrees with XXI 155, where they are emphatically spearmen, and with XVI 287, where they are horsemen in accord with the last. Then both the Leleges and Caucones are left out of the list of Trojan allies, though the former are alluded to at XX 96 and XXI 86, and the latter at XX 329. Then in verse 841 the Larissa to which Hippothous belongs is evidently meant to be the town in the Troad; whereas in XVII 301 it is far away from Troy. Then Nastes, or it may be Amphimachus, and Ennomus are said in verses 875 and 861 to have been slain by Achilles in the river; but none of them are mentioned in Book XXI, though the first two are leaders of the Carians; and the last is here said to be a leader of the Mysians with Chromis, though in XIV 512 their leader is Hyrtius. And in verse 827 it is said that Apollo himself gave Pandarus his bow, which recalls a phrase about Teucer in XV 441; but there is a long passage in IV 105–111, which describes how Pandarus got the bow by shooting a wild goat and fashioning the weapon from its horns with his own hands. Finally, the true Trojan Catalogue comes in Book XII 88-107, where the Trojans and their allies assault the Wall in five companies under fifteen chiefs; but here they cut so poor a figure after the copious Catalogue of the Greeks, that there could be very little credit in defeating them, and no good artist would have made the disparity of force so evident.

The conclusion of the canto, then, I place at the end of the Teichoscopia; and this canto, together with the canto of the Catalogue, introduces us to the Greek host and its prominent leaders, which explains the reason why the poet connects them together rather more closely than usual. But now we have to ask whether three verses can be excised, in order to reduce the number 303 to 300. And the answer is that there are just three verses which can be so treated, and no more. The first is III 14,

ἐρχομένων · μάλα δ' ὦκα διέπρησσον πεδίοιο,

which is a repetition of the last line of the Catalogue, and which we have already seen to be there perfectly in place, the word ἐρχομένων being taken up by ἐρχομένων in the following simile; and it is most unlikely that the poet would repeat it after so short an interval and in a pointless manner here. The sentence ends much better without it. The next is III 144, where the names of Helen's handmaidens are given as Aethra, daughter of Pittheus, and ox-eyed Clymene. A very sober critic, the late Mr. Monro, says, "This story, however, like most legends of Theseus, is unknown to Homer, and accordingly there seem to be only two possible explanations of the present passage. Either it is an interpolation, as Aristarchus thought, inserted in order to introduce a reference to the later story of Aethra: or (what seems more probable) the names

Αἴθρη and Κλυμένη are brought in here merely to give an air of reality to the narrative, and the coincidence of name with the Aethra of Attic tradition is a mere accident." But surely the view of Aristarchus is far the more probable; for there is a double coincidence, in the name of Aethra and in the name of Aethra's father, which can hardly be the mere effect of accident. The line is an Attic interpolation. Away then with Aethra, daughter of Pittheus, and with ox-eyed Clymene, and let Helen go forth with a pair of handmaids whose names are not recorded, as Penelope does in Odyss. I 331, and ought to do in Odyss. XVIII 207. The third verse is III 224,

οὐ τότε γ' ὧδ' Ὀδυσῆος ἀγασσάμεθ' εἶδος ἰδόντες,

which in its present position can hardly be construed. Mr. Monro says, "The line, however, is generally thought to be spurious. It makes a weak and awkward conclusion to the speech; and the neglect of the digamma in two words (*Fεῖδος* and *Fιδόντες*) confirms this view." The true ending of the speech is with the verse above,

οὐκ ἂν ἔπειτ' Ὀδυσῆϊ γ' ἐρίσσειε βροτὸς ἄλλος,

and the false one may be a sort of alternative to it; but to keep the two alternatives in the text makes a laughable effect. We have now produced 300 lines, all of which are perfectly coherent, by transposing the similes to their original place, removing the

feeble Trojan Catalogue, and excising three most suspicious verses; and I feel pretty sure that there is not another verse in the whole of this passage which affords just ground for suspicion.

The next canto, which relates the ritual of the Oaths and the Single Combat of Menelaus and Paris, I terminate at Book IV 85. This is the moment when Athene enters the Trojan host, in order to persuade Pandarus to take a shot at Menelaus; and here begins the Rupture of the Truce. The poet marks the termination of the canto by giving us the thoughts of the Greeks and Trojans as they behold the goddess darting from the sky, ending up with

ὣς ἄρα τις εἴπεσκεν Ἀχαιῶν τε Τρώων τε,

after which we turn to the action of Athene. Well, from the end of the Teichoscopia to that point is 302 lines. Now this is a singularly flawless stretch, in which critics of the most disruptive tendencies find practically nothing to touch. But there are two verses on which the keen eye of Aristarchus fastened as improper to their present context. Hera says to Zeus, "I have three cities, Argos and Sparta and Mycenae, which are far the dearest to me. Sack them, whenever they displease you; I do not grudge it or defend them. But neither ought you to frustrate my labour for the destruction of Troy." This is all quite coherent. But now, between the offer and the counterclaim, some unlucky hand has

stuffed the two verses IV 55–56, "For if I do grudge it and refuse to let you sack them, I do no good by grudging, for you are far the stronger." This, says Aristarchus, destroys the whole grace of Hera's offer, if Zeus can have what he likes without asking her leave. I think that most readers will acknowledge the truth of Aristarchus' remark, although Dr. Leaf considers it insufficient ground for condemning the lines. But it is not the best way of making a bargain, to admit that your goods can be had without payment; and Hera is the last person likely to think so. The verses are enclosed in brackets in the Teubner text of Dr. Hentze, who seems to feel the force of Aristarchus' objection; and perhaps they will be conceded us in establishing a presumptive case. This set of 300 lines is Canto VI.

In the next canto the truce is broken, and Agamemnon marshals his host for battle. The pause I place after IV 402, where Diomede, being chidden by the monarch for his sloth, is abashed by the rebuke and receives it in silence: a silence which marks the precise end of the episode known as Agamemnon's Patrol. If the Iliad were a drama, the direction at the verse should be this: "Agamemnon departs." But before he gets clear off the scene, not Diomede himself, but Sthenelus his squire has a fling at him; and then follows Diomede's reply, not, however, addressed to Agamemnon him-

self, who by this time is evidently gone (for he is spoken of in the third person at verse 413), but administering a sharp rebuke to the saucy rejoinder of Sthenelus. So we pass on to the Prowess of Diomede, which is the principal subject of the next four cantos; and an artful transition it is.

I dwell on this particular break, because the reader might perhaps expect the pause to be placed 20 lines lower down, where the hosts advance to battle. But I am confident that the poet meant the cantos to be divided as is shown above. For the very sound of the line,

αἰδεσθεὶς βασιλῆος ἐνιπὴν αἰδοίοιο,

marks it out as one on which the voice should dwell; and a fresh reciter, or pair of fresh reciters, might well come on with Sthenelus and Diomede, with perhaps yet a third for the narrative. And here I will interpose some general remarks on the nature of the tercentenary pause. I do not maintain that the strongest pauses in the poem are always to be found after each 300 lines; for it is quite as much the poet's object to prevent his narrative falling asunder as to mark its several divisions. This is patent from the way in which he interweaves his incidents from one of the cantos to another. Thus in Canto V the heralds were sent to fetch Priam out of Troy; then came the Teichoscopia; and then, with the opening of Canto VI, we returned to

the heralds again. And so the poet often throws a separate stage of a previous incident into the subsequent canto, and after going on for another 10 or 20 or 30 lines or more, breaks off with the phrase, "so they were doing so and so," and introduces there the new matter of the canto. Again it is evident that he sometimes means that two or three cantos should be taken together, the whole forming a section of 600 or 900 lines, with subordinate pauses after each 300 verses. We shall find good examples of this in the Slaying of Hector and the Funeral Games of Patroclus, which form distinct episodes of 600 and 900 verses apiece, with a secondary pause after each 300 lines. Hence the turns in the action at the beginning and end of each canto are not always more distinctly marked than some which arise within it. And if the reader reflects, he will see that this is necessarily the case. For the great changes in an action like that of the Iliad must occur when it passes from day to night or from night to day, and from earth to heaven or from heaven to earth. But it would be hard if, whenever the poet carries us from night to day or from earth to heaven, he were always obliged to open a new canto. Consequently some of the greater changes must occur within the triacosiad. What I contend for is that there is always a noticeable pause or turn in the action after every genuine set of 300 lines, counted from the

opening of the poem, but not necessarily an abrupt pause or a violent turn. It would not do, however, for the tercentenary pause to descend in the middle of a speech.

To return now to Canto VII, the Rupture of the Truce and Agamemnon's Patrol. These make up 317 lines. But the 17 verses which may be removed are marked out as if with a blue pencil. They are IV 382–398, in the rebuke of Agamemnon to Diomede, where the story is told of Tydeus' adventures at Thebes. "Why are you shirking and staring about, son of Tydeus?" asks the king. "It was not the way of Tydeus to shirk like this, but to fight with his enemies far in advance of all his friends, as they said who saw him at work. I never met him or saw him myself; but they say that he was beyond compare. He came to Mycenae as a peaceful visitant, along with godlike Polyneices, to collect a host. They were then about to march against the sacred walls of Thebes, and earnestly entreated our people to give them allies; and they consented, but Zeus changed their minds, by displaying unlucky signs. Such was Tydeus the Aetolian; but he begot his son worse than himself at fighting, though better at talking." You see what is the point of Agamemnon's rebuke. Tydeus was a mighty man of arms, who was fond of fighting himself, and who came to Mycenae to get others to join him; but all his eloquence collapsed

after the unlucky signs of Zeus. Diomede is just the opposite. He is a very good talker, for he constantly speaks out in the council when all the rest sit silent, and here he is supposed to be chattering away with Sthenelus. But he is a very poor fighter, says the king, for he is standing still while others are advancing to the war. Now this point is obscured, if not completely lost, when an untimely tale of 17 lines about Tydeus' adventures at Thebes is interposed between the failure of his oratory at Mycenae and the determined loquacity of his son. We have forgotten one member of the contrast before we reach the other. Besides, the genuine story of Tydeus' famous exploit is told by Athene in Book V 800–813. Tydeus was sent as an emissary to Thebes by his companions in arms, and there he boldly challenged the Cadmean youth to feats of strength, and beat them every one. But our story-teller, not content with this, adds that the Cadmeans were so enraged at it, that they laid an ambush for him as he was going away, and that he slew them all but one; which is a fiction in itself exceedingly improbable. Then there is a very barbarous use of the word ξεῖνος in verse 387, of which Dr. Leaf says that it "must here mean 'a stranger,' *i.e.* virtually under the circumstances an enemy, whereas in 377 it means a friend. But the word never acquired in Greek the connotation of the Latin *hostis*, and in ordinary cases to be a ξεῖνος in any sense was a

reason for expecting friendly treatment, not treachery." And the three names Αἱμονίδης and Αὐτόφονος and Πολυφόντης for the leaders of the Cadmean ambush are so manifestly made up for the occasion, that we may take it to be an expansion of the story told later on, but thrust in here, where it delays the action too long. And the neatness with which the 17 lines go out is a good argument that they ought to be banished.

The next canto, which embraces the first encounter of the armies and the first part of the Prowess of Diomede, I terminate at Book V 165, where we are first introduced to Aeneas, who is a very great man in Homer. This makes 307 lines. Here I admit that it may not be quite so evident which 7 verses ought to be removed; but the way in which I would do it is this. If the reader will compare V 40–42 and V 56–58, which describe the deaths of Odius and Scamandrius respectively, he will see that these triads are very similar to one another. This similarity, occurring at such close quarters, has occasioned much offence; and in some good recent texts it has been mitigated by enclosing in brackets the last verse of the first triad and the middle verse of the second triad. And yet it is only the middle verses of each triad that are identical,

ὦμων μεσσηγύς, διὰ δὲ στήθεσφιν ἔλασσεν,

and one of these alone would I strike out, giving

the preference to the one that comes first, and supposing the other one to be a careless repetition of it, like that of III 14 pointed out above, caused by the general likeness. As for the remaining 6 verses, I would seek them in IV 446–451, which are repeated word for word in VIII 60–65. They would do equally well in either place, because in both they describe the first encounters of the hosts on different days; but it is not likely that the same striking verses occurred twice over. Probably they were inserted for use when Book IV was read apart from Book VIII, or was sold apart for instruction in schools. But here the interval of the meeting of the hosts is bridged by a very fine simile of two torrents plunging into the junction of two ravines, which has no counterpart in the other book, and in which the word *μισγομένων* seems to repel the fact that the battle is already joined. In one minute respect I confess that it might be preferable to remove them from the other context, the phrase *πολὺς δ' ὀρυμαγδὸς ὀρώρει* being repeated at VIII 59 and 63; and the reader may be able to discover 6 other verses which can equally well be excised. But we shall find it convenient to retain the lines later on; and it is safer to strike out repeated verses than others which have no good ground of objection against them. This, then, is Canto VIII.

Canto IX, which contains the second part of the Prowess of Diomede, and includes his combat with

Aeneas, his wounding of Aphrodite, and his vain attack upon Apollo, extends down to verse 470, where Ares at Apollo's bidding infuses fresh life into the beaten Trojans. The next canto first introduces us to Sarpedon, who is another great man in Homer. The former one contains 305 lines. Here I hold it to be quite clear which 5 verses can and ought to be expelled. They are 449–453, in which Apollo, who has saved Aeneas by wrapping him in a cloud and transporting him to his temple in Troy, is represented as creating a phantom of him, over which the Greeks and Trojans struggle. The last two of these verses are borrowed from XII 425–426, the interpolator's invention having sunk exhausted after its creation of the phantom. But at verse 514 Aeneas returns to his comrades, restored to health and strength by Leto and Artemis, so that there must be a moment when the real man and the phantom are together in the field. Now we should expect to hear something of this strange duplication, or else to have already heard of the withdrawal of the phantom, as we do in the Helen of Euripides. But not a word is said of either; and though heroes are repeatedly rapt away in Homer, nothing like the substitution of a phantom ever occurs again. "Apparently," as Dr. Leaf says, "some rhapsodist thought it necessary to explain why the disappearance of Aeneas did not stop the fight," and therefore added these five verses.

There remains, of course, the undoubted marvel of the real Aeneas returning to the field miraculously cured. But then the poet carefully explains that his comrades did not question him at all, because the stress of battle was too strong; which, whether an adequate apology or not, shows that he was alive to the true part of the wonder, but knew nothing of the false addition of the phantom, whose way of dissolving he never explains.

In the next canto the Trojans, rallied by Ares, advance under Sarpedon and Hector and the restored Aeneas, while Diomede gradually retires. It goes down to verse 777, at which moment Hera and Athene arrive at Troy, bent upon driving Ares off the field. There is an excellent pause at the end of the canto, where the goddesses halt their steeds at the conflux of the rivers Scamander and Simois, and Simois supplies them with ambrosia on which to browse, while the goddesses proceed into the fray. The pause is well marked in the Oxford Homer of the late Provost of Oriel and in the Cambridge Homer of Mr. Platt, who both begin a new paragraph here; but not so well in the Teubner text of Dr. Hentze, or in the last edition of Dr. Leaf, who both go on without indentation. The canto contains 307 lines. Here again it may be a little doubtful which seven verses can be challenged; but I should pitch upon the genealogy of Crethon and Orsilochus, sons of Diocles, in verses 543–549. There is little

to be said against the verses, except that a pedigree is in its own nature suspicious, and that this one seems to have been drawn up from Odyss. III 488–490, where Alpheus is the great-grandfather as here, and the grandfather Ortilochus, as also in Odyss. XV 187 and XXI 16, but here Orsilochus, being changed to suit the name of the grandson, who is not referred to in the Odyssey. And the circumstance that the father Diocles was a wealthy man may be taken from the fact that Telemachus twice lodges in his house, and receives a present on both occasions. Then the place of their home is here called Phere, but elsewhere it is Pherae, both in Iliad and in Odyssey. And again the young men are said to be "well skilled in all manner of fighting," though it appears from what follows that this is their first campaign. These verses, then, I should discard; and this is Canto X.

And now, for reasons which are reserved to a later stage, we take a wider sweep, and place the close of the next canto after Book VI 236. It comprises the wounding and departure of Ares, and the Colloquy of Glaucus and Diomede, ending with their exchange of armour and the celebrated verse,

χρύσεα χαλκείων, ἑκατόμβοι' ἐννεαβοίων.

There is a manifest transition in the story here; for with this incident the poet disposes of Diomede for the rest of the day, and with the first verse of the

next canto Hector reaches the Scaean gates of Troy. Then follows his intercourse with Hecuba, with Paris, with Helen, and lastly with Andromache, after which he rejoins the Trojans in the field at the seventh verse of the Seventh Book. This is one of the most perfect expanses of poetry in the whole Iliad, of which so subversive a critic as Dr. Leaf says, "With the exception of one point, to which we shall return, all that follows is so perfect in narration as well as in conception as to call for no criticism; admiration is enough." I omit that one point, as I think that there is but little in it, and leave the reader to seek it in Dr. Leaf's Introduction to the book. Well, from the moment when Hector enters the Scaean gates until the moment when he rejoins the Trojans in the field, there are exactly 300 lines. This is Canto XII.

Let us return to Canto XI, and fix our attention on the Colloquy of Glaucus and Diomede. Both ancient and modern scholars have found much to question here. It has often been objected to the colloquy that it is far too long for its present position. The whole battle seems to stand still, while Diomede retails to Glaucus the story of Lycurgus in twelve lines, and Glaucus responds with the story of Bellerophon and his family in fifty-six. Now the entire canto consists of 368 verses. Cut out the account of Lycurgus from the speech of Diomede, cut out the history of Bellerophon from that of

Glaucus, and you have exactly 300 lines. This is surely remarkable; for both the cuts can be made with perfect ease. "And who are you?" asks Diomede of Glaucus; "for I have never seen you in the battle before; but now you have advanced far in front of the rest, through your own high spirit, mine being the spear that you have ventured to withstand. But unhappy are the parents whose children encounter my might. If you are one of the immortals, who has come down from Olympus, I would not fight with the heavenly gods. But if you are one of the mortal men who consume the fruits of the field, draw near, that you may the speedier reach the end of death." Between the two conditional sentences has been inserted the story of Lycurgus. "For neither was Lycurgus so long-lived, who strove with the heavenly gods," and so on for twelve lines. The insertion is so clearly marked by the virtual repetition of verse 129 at verse 141, that I refrain from dwelling on objections of detail, such as a legend of Dionysus in Homer. Take again the tale of Bellerophon. "Proud son of Tydeus," replies Glaucus, "why do you inquire after my race? Such as is the race of leaves, such also is that of men. Of the leaves, some are poured to the ground by the wind, while others are produced by the flourishing wood, and come on in the season of spring; so of the generations of men, while one is producing, another is leaving off. But Hippolochus was sire

unto me, and from him I say that I am sprung. And he sent me to Troy, and charged me again and again, always to be the best fighter and to excel all others, and not to disgrace the family of my fathers, who proved themselves to be far the best both in Ephyre and in the broad land of Lycia. Such is the lineage and blood of which I boast that I come." Quite short, quite appropriate, and noble beyond words. But now, between the likeness of the rising generation to the growth of leaves and the naming of Hippolochus, come the words, "But if indeed you desire to find out about this also, that you may perfectly understand our lineage, and many men know of it; there is a city Ephyre," and so on with the genealogy of Sisyphus, Glaucus, and Bellerophon; the account of Bellerophon, Proetus, and Anteia; and the three children of Bellerophon, who are Isander, Hippolochus, and Laodamia. The selfsame words are used to introduce the long genealogy of Aeneas in Book XX 213–240, which is removed with equal ease, leaving 300 behind. And the story of Bellerophon, though perfect in itself, is a fairy tale quite foreign to the Iliad. The reader will observe, however, that in the second speech of Diomede there is a notice of Bellerophon, whereas we have cut out the mention of him here. But this seems perfectly natural. The naming of Hippolochus and Ephyre and Lycia by Glaucus gives the cue to Diomede, who takes their ancestry a generation

higher up, at which point there was some connection of friendship between his own grandfather Oeneus and Bellerophon, the grandsire of Glaucus. He assumes that Oeneus' name is known to Glaucus, though nothing has been said of him before, not even in the verses we omit; and so we may suppose that he knows about Bellerophon, without Glaucus having to tell it. The reader will likewise observe that in cutting out this story we cut out the mention of the *σήματα λυγρά* in verse 168, and with them the sole indication that Homer's audience was familiar with any form of writing.

We now go on to Canto XIII, which is concerned with the Duel of Hector and Ajax, this day's warfare ending, as it began, with a single combat. The pause we set at VII 344, after the short council in Agamemnon's tent, to which Ajax is conducted in triumph. The next canto begins with the Trojan assembly on the citadel of Troy. This makes 337 lines, which seems a mighty number. Yes, but there is a speech of Nestor in it, and Nestor's speeches will often yield an easily detachable story. And here there is a passage of a regular type, introduced by a regular formula, "O would to father Zeus and Athene and Apollo, that I were as young as when such and such an event took place." We shall learn that passages of this sort always go out with the utmost facility wherever they occur. Here it is the story of Ereuthalion, and a most untimely tale

it is; for Hector has issued his challenge, and it is all important that there should be no delay in taking it up. The first 8 lines of Nestor's speech exhort the rest rightly to promptitude, but when he himself goes on for another 29, the effect is wholly spoilt. And the internal difficulties of the story are great. Here is a note of Dr. Leaf's: "133. This passage cannot be reconciled with geographical facts. Φειά is no doubt the same as Φεαί in Elis; but that was a maritime town, not near Arkadia; there is nothing known of a Keladon or Iardanos anywhere near it, nor, it would seem, are there any rivers that could correspond." The things denied in the note are all asserted or implied in the text. And here is another: "149. It is clear that if the now aged Nestor took the armour in question in his early youth (153) from the man who had it from Lykoergos in *his* old age, the Areïthoos from whom Lykoergos took it cannot by any reasonable chronology have left a son young enough to be fighting in the tenth year of the siege of Troy: yet in line 10 this would seem to be implied. Moreover, Areïthoos of line 8 lived in Arne in Boeotia, whereas Areïthoos here seems to be an Arkadian." So that the story twice seems to contradict an earlier passage in the same book. Dr. Leaf continues: "But difficulties of this sort are familiar in the tales of Nestor's youthful exploits, all of which bear the mark of late work, introduced with no special applicability to the

context, but rather with the intention of glorifying the ancestor of Peisistratos." So that the passage is one of a difficult class; and every one of them will on our principle be found to disappear. The proper end of Nestor's speech is at verse 131; and the 29 verses 132–160 ought to be removed. This leaves us with 8 verses over the 300. It is strange, but true, that exactly 8 verses in the speech of Nestor at the end of the canto are devoted to the project of Building the Wall.

Students of the Homeric problem will at once perceive the bearing of this fact. It is well known that inconsistency about the Wall is one of the great engines of the disruptive critics of the Iliad. They infer from it that the Wall never formed part of the original scheme of the poem, and they use its presence or absence as a rough sort of test in attempting to determine the primitive plan, which is sometimes called the Menis, though that title truly belongs to a series of incidents in the First Book of the Iliad. Now I see not the slightest reason for doubting that the existence of the Wall was an integral portion of the earliest poet's plot. From the Twelfth Book onward you simply cannot detach it from the poem without resorting to processes which are a confutation of the theory on which you proceed. For it is entwined with things that lie at the inmost heart of the story; and therefore it is not surprising that nobody has yet offered to the public a satisfactory

scheme which excludes the Wall. But I see now, and always have seen, the very gravest reason for supposing that the Building of the Wall never stood as an incident in the Iliad of Homer; and here I believe that the whole inconsistency lies. Homeric critics sometimes overlook the fact, that when an inconsistency between two things occurs, it is not essential to do away with each, but only with one. The existence of the Wall I hold to be genuine and consistent with the rest of the Iliad; the Building of the Wall I hold to be false and inconsistent.

The whole story of the Building of the Wall is contained in these 8 verses 336–343, where Nestor proposes the measure, and in the 32 or 34 verses of the next canto, which begin at verse 433, where the project itself is put into execution; after which Poseidon and Zeus have a short talk about it. Now the proposal to build a wall, whenever it occurred, is obviously the proposal of a most important step. And yet it is first broached as a sort of happy thought at the end of Nestor's speech, after his most timely suggestion that Agamemnon should make a truce with the Trojans, in order to cremate the dead; and not one of the elders has a word to say about it, but all assent straight off. Can we not imagine what opportunities for debate and display of his characters the real Homer would have found in such a scene? How Diomede would arise and bluntly declare that the arms of the Greeks were

adequate to the defence of the camp, and remonstrate against yet another day's interruption of the fighting? How Odysseus would get up and assert that Diomede was valiant in spirit but young in years; that he would have said the same himself in his earlier days, but that his valour had been tempered by experience? How, after further debate, Nestor would rise to reinforce his original proposal, and Agamemnon would close the conference by saying that he had given just the right advice as usual? Nothing of the sort. Then if we turn to Book XII 1–33, which everyone must take to be the first formal introduction of the Wall, at a most convenient time, when the Trojans have reached it in their victorious advance, it is manifestly implied that the Wall was built long ago to protect the ships and booty, and not two days before. And surely the nature of the case declares that such a measure, were it undertaken at all, would suggest itself and be carried out shortly after the formation of the camp upon the Hellespont. For it has often been observed what an odd moment is this for building a wall, about the end of the ninth year, and after a day of fighting in which the Greeks have got the better.

Then if we sift the proposal of Nestor more closely, it occasions three great difficulties. He advises that after collecting and burning the dead, under an armistice with the Trojans, they should raise over the pyre a common tomb, and build the

wall on to it or against it. But in the first place this flatly contradicts his proposal two lines higher up, that the bones of the dead should be preserved and taken home, which was the original poet's idea. Then, again, the tomb, which must be meant to serve as a bank of earth behind the wall, must itself be a most important part of the fortification. But when the Trojans have won the Wall at the end of Book XII, and we should expect so conspicuous a feature of the defence to come into sharper prominence, it is not once alluded to. At the second assault of the Trojans, in Book XV 355–364, Apollo levels the banks of the trench outside the Wall, and he smashes down the Wall itself like a castle of sand, but of the tomb behind it not a word is said. And in the final obliteration of the Wall by Poseidon and Apollo, which is given by anticipation at the beginning of Book XII, not a syllable is said about the tomb. But a greater difficulty still is want of time. As a result both of the Greek council and of the Trojan assembly, held on the same night after the first day of battle, the two parties early next morning agree to suspend hostilities for so long a time as is necessary to burn the dead. This is all completed on the evening of that day. Well, in the early twilight before the dawning, up get the Greeks and set about building their wall. This work occupies all the rest of the day, and is finished at sunset. But this was not in the bond. They were to have

so much time as was necessary to burn the dead, and no more. And are we to suppose that the Trojans sit idle throughout the whole of this second day, while their enemies, contrary to the agreement, carry out in peace this defensive operation? Then it seems very doubtful whether "a chosen people of the Greeks," as they are called, could accomplish in a single day a work of fortification so vast as that which is implied in Book XII 1–33. It is true that in Book VIII 178 Hector describes the wall as weak and negligible. But we shall find fair reason to suppose that passage spurious; and because of those words I should judge that it was put in by the same man who put in the Building of the Wall, or else by somebody who saw that the work of a single day could only be a puny affair, and was betrayed by the spurious incident into disagreement with other parts of the poem. But there is little doubt that this second day has been foisted into the poem; for the poet does not mark the fall of the preceding night, as his manner is elsewhere, and so we can pass straight on to the marketing and nightfall with which the book concludes.

We therefore strike out the 8 verses in which Nester proposes to build the wall, and all is clear in Canto XIII. But in the next canto, before we come to the building itself, there are two isolated verses which must certainly depart. The first is verse 353, which cannot be construed, was stigmatised by

Aristarchus, and is bracketed or otherwise got rid of in all recent texts. It is a lame attempt to help out the meaning of the phrase τῷ οὔ νύ τι κέρδιον ἡμῖν in the verse above. The other is verse 380, which says that the Trojans took their supper in regiments on the field, whereas they have left the field and returned to Troy for the assembly on the citadel. The verse is omitted from many manuscripts, it is borrowed from XVIII 298, where it is in place, and it is bracketed in all recent texts. Now the beginning of the interpolation about the wall is quite clear at verse 433; but it is a very nice question where we should put the end. It might seem simple to place it after the two verses 465–466, which close the previous incident,

δύσετο δ' ἠέλιος, τετέλεστο δὲ ἔργον Ἀχαιῶν,
βουφόνεον δὲ κατὰ κλισίας καὶ δόρπον ἔλοντο.

But we may notice that these verses will equally well close the incident of the funeral, which terminates now at verse 432, just before the interpolation begins. The word ἔργον will apply to the funeral pile just as well as to the wall, and we shall preserve the explicit mention of the nightfall, although the same thing is implied by παννύχιοι lower down. And the interpolation will equally well conclude with the verse before,

ὣς οἱ μὲν τοιαῦτα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγόρευον,

which relates to the duologue of Poseidon and Zeus.

I am persuaded that this is right for several reasons. Firstly, if we cut out the two verses, we curtail the mention of the Greek supper on the night of the funeral. But this is to be a night of revelry, and it is natural that the poet, who is careful to explain how the Greeks got their wine, should explain how they came by abundance of meat; which is done by the word *βουφόνεον*. They made a wholesale slaughter of oxen. But again this word is said to have a ceremonial sense, which chimes very well with the rest of the funeral incident; for after that pious labour comes the religious funeral feast. And for the same reason it could scarcely have occurred to the interpolator. For he, obedient to the hint which is given him in XII 6, makes it one of the grievances of Poseidon in his duologue with Zeus, that the Greeks did NOT offer hecatombs of oxen after building the wall. So that the verses evidently came at the end of the funeral, where they are highly appropriate, but were used by the interpolator to conclude his account of the Building of the Wall, regardless of the fact that the word *βουφόνεον* contradicts what he told us 16 lines above. We therefore retain these verses and reject the rest, together with the 2 spurious ones above, and this leaves us 104 lines to the end of the book, with which to find the tercentenary pause in the next.

Now it is clear that, wherever else a pause may occur, one must be placed at the end of the Eighth

Book. For here the poet winds up his description of the panic flight of the Greeks, and of the Trojan bivouac on the plain, with the magnificent simile which compares their watch-fires to the aspect of the starry heavens; while the next book begins with the consternation of the Greeks which brings about the Deputation to Achilles. We shall find that with this Eighth Book concludes the 15th Canto of the poem, which has 45 in all. So that one third of the Iliad begins with the Wrath of Achilles, and ends with the first defeat of the Greeks; and the next third begins with the Embassy which vainly endeavours to appease his wrath, and ends with the Death of Patroclus at the close of Book XVI, which is of course another most important moment in the poem; while the last third is devoted to the consequences of that momentous event, and especially to the vengeance of Achilles. This whole arrangement is so likely in itself, that it affords no small confirmation of our view. And I mention it here in hope to fortify the reader's belief; for we are now on the brink of a somewhat anxious situation.

Well, if we look back about 300 lines from the end of Book VIII, we shall discover a very convenient pause after verse 252. This is the one moment when the Greeks, who in the previous canto have been stricken with a supernatural terror by Zeus, suddenly regain new courage owing to an omen

which he sends to them in merciful response to Agamemnon's prayer. The chiefs repass the trench, with Diomede at their head, but the proper hero of the ensuing verses is Teucer. The exact number of lines to the end of the book is 313. How can we excise the odd 13 verses? There is no obvious single passage of that extent, such as a genealogical story or a reminiscence of old Nestor, so that we are compelled to pick and choose. But I need not say that the Eighth Book is one which furnishes a good many particular grounds of complaint to the critic, some of which appear to be solid and firm. The first verse on which I should fix is 277, which tells us that Teucer brought all of those named before to the ground in quick succession. It is omitted by the majority of manuscripts, is repeated at XII 194 and XVI 418, is enclosed in brackets by Mr. Monro and Dr. Leaf and Dr. Hentze, and is printed at the bottom of the page by Mr. Platt.

The next verses are 332–334, in which, after Teucer has been disabled, and Ajax has run forward and put his shield about him, it is stated that two trusty comrades, Mecisteus, son of Echius, and high-born Alastor, carried him to the ships heavily groaning. The same three verses are repeated word for word in XIII 421–423; but there it appears that Mecisteus and Alastor are the comrades of Antilochus, or else of the wounded Hypsenor, over whom Antilochus throws his shield, as Ajax throws

his over Teucer here. Now the verses cannot be right in both places; but it is a question in which place they originally stood. Dr Leaf holds that they are original here; for he thinks that Hypsenor is killed outright, and therefore cannot be carried to the ships heavily groaning. But with all deference to so great an authority, I take the contrary view. For there is nothing to show that Hypsenor is killed outright, though he is desperately wounded, being struck upon the liver below the diaphragm, which accounts for his heavily groaning; and the boast of Deiphobus, that he has sent Hypsenor to keep company with Asius on the way to Hades, shows that he is conscious of having dealt a mortal wound, but not that Hypsenor is slain outright. And why should Antilochus so rashly drop his shield about him, if it is so very plain that he is killed upon the spot? But nothing worse happens to Teucer than the numbing of his hand by the blow of a stone; which by depriving the part of feeling releases it from pain, and would not be so good a cause for heavy groans. Then again, nothing further is said about Mecisteus and Alastor in this place; but the story of Mecisteus is followed up in Book XV, which is a later stage of the same battle as that in which he rescues Hypsenor, he being slain with his father Echius at verse 339. The same device is used in the case of Ascanius and Morys, sons of Hippotion. They are first introduced to us at XIII 792, and then Morys

and his father Hippotion are slain at XIV 514. So that the one instance supports the other, and all hangs together, showing that Mecisteus and Alastor belong to that place. Then if we cut out the verses in Book XIII, the incident ends very lamely. For there the fight is at close quarters, and Antilochus is left standing with his shield over Hypsenor, and not a word further is said. But here the opponents are at a long distance from each other, as is shown by the use of arrows and stones; so that Ajax might well be understood to remain a little while exposed, when his shield is over Teucer, until Teucer recovers and retires. Besides all which, a great deal has been made of the shield of Ajax in the preceding verses, Teucer coming out from under it to shoot, and then retreating under it again when he has taken his shot; so that it forms a very fair conclusion to the incident to say that Ajax carries forward his shield to the wounded Teucer, instead of Teucer, as before, retreating under the shield of Ajax. These three verses, then, I should detach.

The next verses are 466–468, in which Hera declares that she will hold aloof from the battle at the command of Zeus, but that she will suggest some beneficial advice to the minds of the Greeks, that they may not all of them perish. The same thing has been said in the same words by Athene at the beginning of the book, in verses 35–37, where it is more appropriate; for there the battle is just about

to begin, but here it is nearly over for the day, night falling in the next paragraph. The three verses are omitted from many manuscripts, and are marked as superfluous in all the texts aforesaid.

And now we come to a peculiar case. The four verses 548 and 550–552 do not occur in any of our manuscripts, but they are quoted in connection with verse 549 in the Platonic dialogue Alcibiades II, whence they were inserted in the text by Joshua Barnes. It is said in the dialogue that you will find them in Homer, when the Trojans are making a night-watch; but Dr. Leaf affirms that they have no claim whatever to be in the text. But I must avow that I should be most sorry to part with them; for they are remarkably apt to their present context. They describe the Trojan offering of hecatombs to the gods, which is just what we should expect after their marvellous victory in this book. And if we leave them out, the word *κνίσῃ* in the genuine verse 549 must refer to the fumes of their roasted sheep and oxen, but of the roasting itself there is nothing said at all; whereas it almost always means the sweet savour of a sacrifice, and this meaning the mention of their hecatombs in the verse above immediately provides. Then I do not well see how to account for the explicit statement of the author of the dialogue, and for his connection of verse 549 with the rest. People do not in our time write things that can be convicted of falsehood by

turning the leaves of a Bible; nor in ancient times did they write things that could be proved untrue by turning the pages of Homer. Dr. Leaf thinks that he did not mean what he says, but that the passage may come from some other "Homeric" or Cyclic poem than the Iliad. But surely the chances are very numerous against both a Trojan bivouac and verse 549 being found together in some other poem as well as in the Iliad. What curious things the Cyclic poems must have been, if they went on at this rate; for they must have copied the Iliad almost line for line. Mr. Monro seems to have thought that the verses might be genuine, when in editing the Iliad he spoke of them as being preserved in the dialogue; though in his edition of the Odyssey, p. 428, he calls the last three clearly spurious. But we cannot reject these three without rejecting also verse 548, which has no better warrant, and then the difficulty about *κνίση* confronts us again. And the words *οὐρανὸν εἴσω* in the genuine verse seem meant to prepare us for the three which follow, and which tell us that the gods refused to partake of the savour of the hecatomb, because sacred Troy had become to them most hateful; a statement which is puzzling to Mr. Monro, but which is explained by the tyrannous edict of Zeus on her behalf, at the opening of the book, when he insultingly forbids all the gods to take part either for or against. Now if there is no sacrifice, but

only the regular evening meal, nor any mention of the gods, but all is concerned with men on earth, there is much less point in saying that the fumes of their feast were carried up by the winds "into heaven," than if we were to hear in the very next lines how the gods in their disgust would have none of it. Hence there is something to be said for the verses after all. And may it not be possible that these four verses were supplanted when another four crept in? For there are four highly suspicious verses at the end of the last paragraph, 538–541, introduced by the trailing tautologous phrase, *ἠελίου ἀνιόντος ἐς αὔριον*, itself an odd expression, which prompted the conjecture of *οὐρανόν* to Nauck; and going on with two verses, one of which is identical with XIII 827, and ending up with

ὡς νῦν ἡμέρη ἥδε κακὸν φέρει Ἀργείοισιν,

which again is identical with XIII 828, and is there in place, but here quite out of it. For if *αὔριον* is right, *ἡμέρη ἥδε* must mean to-morrow, which usage forbids. And if *αὔριον* is wrong, yet the phrase with *οὐρανόν* comes to the same, and *ἡμέρη ἥδε* still makes a jar; for this day's fighting is now at an end, and Hector does not mean to renew the attack until the morrow. I therefore submit it to the judgment of the reader, which set of 4 verses ought to go. The one set is not in the manuscripts, but the verses are quoted as occurring here or hereabouts, where

they are certainly appropriate, if not indispensable. The other set is in the manuscripts, but the verses are almost the same as XIII 825–828, where they are as easy as possible, but here make a puzzling opposition to the context. Whichever set we reject, we shall have disposed of 11 of our 13 verses by arguments which seem to have no little force.

The last two verses, I regret to say, come out of the famous simile at the end of the book; but the case is too strong against them to allow of their being left in. They are 557–558, which describe the illumination of the peaks and promontories and glens by the moon, and the breaking open of the sky. They were omitted by Zenodotus, and obelized by both Aristarchus and Aristophanes, as a wrong repetition of XVI 299–300. Dr. Leaf says, "There can be little doubt that this judgment is right, fine though the verses are in themselves; the repetition of *αἰθήρ* is awkward, and the strong phrase *ὑπερράγη* is far more appropriate in the later passage, where the clouds are represented as being actually 'burst open' by a gust of wind, than here where the air is still. So also the aorist *ἔφανεν* implies a sudden glimpse through the clouds. Here, too, the peaks and points are less in place than where the mountain to which they belong has been already mentioned." And we may add that it would be strange if the poet, who has given the verses a substantive footing of their own in XVI

299–300, where, in Dr. Leaf's words, "the sudden gleam of new hope is magnificently compared to a sudden burst of light through clouds hanging over a mountain peak, as though a cleft were opened into the very depths of heaven," if the poet, I say, had employed them merely to fill out a simile of quite another kind. No doubt their beauty led to their insertion here for use apart from Book XVI. But I must not disguise a slight difficulty which occurs on cutting out the lines. The word ἄστρα in verse 559 comes a little too close to the same word in verse 555 to be wholly pleasant to the ear. But the reader best may judge if this awkward effect does not vanish, or at least become more faint, when an emphasis is laid upon the epithets of the word in either sentence, on ἀριπρεπέα in the first and on πάντα in the second. You see that the poet first adverts to the brightness of each particular star, and then insists on the appearance of the stars shining all together, which makes the shepherd glad. And this notion is borne out in the case of either sentence by the distinction of φαίνεται from εἴδεται: nor is there any other reason for telling us twice over that the stars are visible. Then the repetition of ἄστρα, instead of being superfluous, serves to show us where the emphasis should lie, which is hardest upon πάντα, and throws the contrast of its epithets into stronger relief. And this supplies a further argument against the two intrusive verses,

which interfere with the contrast, and which by their very different movement seem to me to deaden the lovely choral rhythm of the rest; though in other respects it is a pity that the passage, which has been endeared to English readers by the skilful translations of Tennyson and Worsley, cannot be left to stand in its present form. So much for Canto XV.

We have now to go back and be certain about Canto XIV. We carried over 104 verses from the Seventh Book, and we placed the pause after verse 252 of the Eighth. This makes up 356 lines, which is a great deal in excess of our limit. But there is fair reason for thinking the whole passage 160–212 not to be genuine, which makes 53 lines; and the three verses 224–226 are almost undoubtedly wrong. We will despatch the latter first. They are repeated in XI 7–9, where none of our manuscripts omit them, whereas a very great number omit them here. They describe the situation of the huts of Ajax and Achilles at either end of the camp, in both cases measuring the range of a shout from the ship of Odysseus, which was the middlemost of all. Now in Book XI the shout is uttered by the goddess Eris, in the stillness before the fight, and of course might carry so far. But here it is a shout of Agamemnon, in the middle of a battle, which is not so likely or so proper; for it diminishes our notion of the size of the camp. The verses are rejected by all four

texts said above. Well, now we return to the other passage, which contains a taunt of Hector as Diomede withdraws, an exhortation of Hector to the Trojans, an address of Hector to his horses, and a short colloquy of Hera and Poseidon, ending with the formal line

ὣς οἱ μὲν τοιαῦτα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγόρευον,

after which we go back to the retreating Greeks. Now by far the most objectionable part of the passage is Hector's address to his horses; and I confess that this could be cut out alone, by going on after verse 183 with ὣς ἔφατ' εὐχόμενος in verse 198, instead of ὣς εἰπὼν ἵπποισιν ἐκέκλετο. But after this has been done, all the rest of the passage, unless perhaps the first 12 lines, must be taken together or left together. For it is chiefly made up of speeches, and it is always the poet's way to mark the close of a speech with an expression like "so he spake," or "so saying," or "then somebody answered," or "while he thus pondered." But if we begin to break up the passage, we find that the verses which contain this necessary adjunct take us on to the next incident. Hence all hangs together; and then there are a number of objections, singly slight but strong in accumulation, against the entire passage, which render it better to join it all on to Hector's address to his horses, though this is by far the most suspicious piece, and to throw out the 53 lines together, than to make up the number required by culling them out elsewhere.

I say this, because it is well known that the first part of the book contains a large number of repeated verses, and there are some isolated verses against which objections are brought. But the repeated verses are mostly epic commonplace, and are all very apt to the context; and the only grammatical objection which seems to me to have much weight is to the dual ἐζέσθην in verse 74, where the Greek κῆρες settle down in the scale. For it is certainly rather odd that they should have but a couple of κῆρες. But we do not know how the poet conceived of such an object, when it became concrete enough to go into a balance. And we may remember that in Book IX 411 Achilles has διχθαδίας κῆρας, two alternative fates by which to meet his end; so that a nation, as well as a man, might be thought to have two different ways of dying, either in the field or in the arms of friends at home. And in any case this objection lies against the word, as often happens in all authors, and not against the line; for the couplet is otherwise good.

Now for Hector's address to his horses. In the first place there are four of them; a thing absolutely unknown to Homer, the only other vestige of a four-horse chariot being in a long story of Nestor at XI 699, which goes out as we should expect, and in a passage of the Odyssey. Then their names are all taken from horses in other parts of the Iliad or Odyssey. Then Andromache is said to mix them up wine to drink, which is ridiculous; and if we reject

the verse, with Aristophanes and Aristarchus, the queer result is that she gives Hector grain. Then there is mention of a shield of Nestor, the fame of which reaches to heaven, and of a breastplate of Diomede, which was wrought by the labour of Hephaestus. But, says Dr. Leaf, from whom I copy these objections, "a famous shield of Nestor is as little known elsewhere to the *Iliad* as a divine breastplate of Diomedes"; and this seems to ignore the late exchange of armour with Glaucus. And last of all, Hector expresses a hope of setting the Greeks on shipboard that very night; though his object in the present book rather is to set the ships on fire and prevent them getting aboard. This passage is undoubtedly spurious.

The chief objections to the colloquy of Poseidon and Hera are that it is pointless in itself, for nothing comes of it, and that it hangs together, as has been said, either with the address to the horses or with the exhortation just before it, against which graver objections may be brought. It much reminds us of the former colloquy of Poseidon and Zeus after the Building of the Wall, and I should ascribe it to the same hand. Particular objections will be found in Dr. Leaf's notes. He says that verse 199, near the beginning, seems a poor imitation of a famous one in the First Book; and that verse 207, near the end, is quite inconsistent with the introduction to the book, though here I am not certain that I

seize his point. And he says that the whole passage from 184 down to 212 "has given rise to many well-founded suspicions." But 212 is the very verse where our excision ends.

Now let us turn to Hector's taunting of Diomede at verse 160. This was a good opportunity to start interpolation, for Diomede has said to Nestor just above that he does not like to retreat, because Hector will brag about it among the Trojans; and then may the earth gape wide for Diomede! But Nestor, with a timely compliment, persuades him to retire, and off they go after the retreating Greeks. Well, up sure enough comes Hector at this moment and delivers his taunt, though what I believe the genuine poet meant was that Hector would brag about it over his cups in Troy; and some strange expressions he uses. He begins, "Tydeides, the Greeks honour you above the rest with a chief seat and with flesh and with flowing cups." Quite untrue. It is true of Agamemnon and Idomeneus, as stated by the former in IV 257–263; but then one is the great king, and the other is an elderly man, rightly treated with respect. And the same thing is true of Sarpedon and Glaucus in Lycia, as stated by the former at XII 310–312, from which one of the lines is borrowed. Now Hector might without much harm make a statement that is false, meaning, "Tydeides, the Greeks think a great deal of you, but now they will think less."

But the particularity of the falsehood adds nothing to its point, but rather defeats its object, and it would have done just as well if he had used the regular expression, "they honour you as a god"; whereas it confuses our idea of Diomede to have it said in the very special terms that are used to mark out a different class of man. For Diomede is a young man, whose feelings are strong, but who seldom dares speak out till late, when all the rest sit silent in council over the wine, which here is meant. The others treat him for the most part to an admiring surprise on account of his youth; but the sharp rebuke of Agamemnon shows us very well the bounds of his esteem. Then Hector vituperates him as *κακὴ γλήνη*, which to Dr. Leaf implies no more than "you pretty toy," but which I should rather have supposed to mean "false jewel," alluding to Diomede's martial appearance and unmilitary flight. But the point cannot well be decided; for among all the taunts of Homeric warriors the like of it never occurs again. Then Hector threatens him, *πάρος τοι δαίμονα δώσω*, "first I will deal you a demon," apparently meaning "a death"; another strange expression never used again, though it is musical enough and might have been expected. So that it all looks as if a later hand was active here, and no incompetent one either, but out of keeping with the first; and both Aristarchus and Aristophanes thought the same.

Then Diomede, being stung by the taunt, thrice meditates to turn about, and thrice Zeus thunders from Ida; which is an instance of what Dr. Leaf calls "a somewhat monotonous interference on the part of Zeus" in this book. For he has already thundered once from Ida, and put the Greeks to flight, at verse 75, and has already thundered and thrown a thunderbolt before the horses of Diomede at verse 133, and here is Diomede advancing yet again, and again Zeus thunders thrice from Ida; which is thrice too often for the credit of his bolts. But we are never told the result of Diomede's reflections, but are left to presume that he flies. For here comes in Hector's exhortation to the Trojans, in which he bids them not forget to bring fire to burn the ships, a premature command, and refers to the "contrivance of the wall," which he describes as *ἀβλήχρ' οὐδενόσωρα*, weak and negligible; the last of which words never occurs again till Oppian, and is wrongly formed besides. Now Hector here again might employ a contemptuous, if false, sort of phrase. But then we must remember that if we were correct in cutting out before the Building of the Wall, which was done on very strong grounds, this is the first mention of that structure; and it is not just so likely that the first impression of it, stamped upon our minds by the poet, would be one to contradict the conception that he means to make use of

hereafter. For we learn from Book XII 19–33 that it required the force of eight rivers discharging all together against it for nine days on end, and Zeus raining continuously to swell the stream, and Poseidon working away with his trident, to obliterate its traces, even after Apollo had wrecked it utterly in Book XV. So that the Wall is evidently meant to be far from weak and negligible. But I believe that the first true mention of the Wall occurs at verse 213, the very verse after the passage which we are proposing to leave out; and that the man who represented it as built in a single day wanted to get his arrow in first, and implant in the minds of his hearers a notion not so repugnant to his own composition. This seems to me the motive of the whole interpolation, except the address to the horses, which betrays an inferior hand. For the man who built us the wall is quite a respectable poet, but t he other is a wretched one, and inconsistent with the interpolator into whose work he has foisted his own interpolation. Well, I admit that all these are rather delicate threads. But taking them all together, and seeing that the passage consists of exactly 53 lines, and leaves a coherent text when removed, and that there is little or nothing to question elsewhere, I am of opinion that they guide us safely to conclude that the verses ought to go.

But before we quit this canto there is another

slight objection which ought to be met. We are so accustomed to open our Homer and find the Eighth Book beginning with a new morning and an edict of Zeus, that it might seem to the reader as if a separate division of the poem ought certainly to start at that point. But I interpret the poet's intention in this way. He meant the two cantos to go closely together, the first beginning on the first evening with a Trojan assembly on the citadel, and the second ending on the second evening with a Trojan assembly on the plain. The intermediate verses are devoted to explaining the cause of this striking alteration in their favour. The cause is the direct intervention of Zeus and the panic flight of the Greeks; and the whole section is exactly divided at the moment when the Greeks rally for a little before their final discomfiture on the day. And you will notice that the poet appears to insist upon the continuity of time between the books by the repeated words *παννύχιοι* and *παννύχιος* in Book VII 476 and 478, where he tells us that all night long the Greeks and Trojans feasted, and that all night long Zeus was occupied with the project which comes to birth at break of day. The poet therefore begins the canto about nightfall, as he starts about midnight at the beginning of Book II, that is, Canto III, where the first step in the design of Zeus is taken; while he reserves the commencement of a new canto with a new day until the opening of Book

XI, where the third and most disastrous step in the design of Zeus begins. But it would certainly mark the continuity of Book VIII with the end of Book VII a little better, if instead of Ἠὼς μὲν in the first verse we might read Ἠὼς δὲ, as it is in Book XXIV 695, where the same verse is repeated. For then it joins on to παννύχιος at once, and connects the previous assembly on earth with the ensuing assembly in heaven. However, we see μὲν thus used at the opening of a new day in VII 421, where the continuity is complete. And the poet may mean that the assembly in heaven, at the beginning of Book VIII, was held during that sleep which, at the end of Book VII, he tells us succeeded the nightlong feasting; a slight retrogression which is better marked by μὲν than by a directly continuous δέ. So that it is best to let all things stand as they are.

This early morning sleep perhaps will account for the shortness of the battle, which in the title of the book is called the Curtal Fight; for as to the other end, it continues to sunset as usual. And this small sign of harmony with what has gone before we might not have expected, if Book VIII was simply composed, as some have averred, to bring in the Deputation to Achilles.

And now we have finished off one third of the Iliad, except a portion of the Second Book, and find ourselves in smoother waters for a while.

CHAPTER II

BOOK THE NINTH TO BOOK THE SIXTEENTH

Cantos XVI and XVII coincide with the Ninth Book; and here, as regards the Greeks, begins the great nychthemeron or space of four and twenty hours from sunset to sunset, of which the main divisions are marked by the dawn at XI 1, the early forenoon at XI 86, the late afternoon at XVI 779, the twilight, which appears to be supernaturally prolonged for the struggle over the body of Patroclus, at XVII 366–376 and 644–650, and the nightfall at XVIII 239. The two cantos with which it opens are occupied with the Embassy to Achilles. The break comes after verse 306, and is a good example of its use, which is artistic and not alone mechanical. Before the break comes the long speech of Odysseus in 82 verses, in which he conveys Agamemnon's offer of redress, and invites Achilles to take pity on the Greeks. A pause ensues, during which we may suppose that his auditor is collecting his thoughts; and then follows the long rolling eloquence of Achilles in 122 verses. The break very much reminds us of that which comes between the Eighth and Ninth Books of the Odyssey, where the long

narrative of Odysseus opens with the same verse as the long harangue of Achilles. The 6 verses which ought to be left out of the first canto are to myself fairly clear. They are 57–62 in Nestor's speech to the assembly. One of them, 59, says Dr. Leaf, "is generally rejected by modern critics, after Bekker, as weakly tautological"; while the other five, if not so bad, produce a rambling and dilatory effect; and Nestor is anything but a rambling old man in Homer, though he has been made very like one by the reckless interpolation of his speeches.

He addresses himself first of all to Diomede, who was the last to speak, and he says, "Son of Tydeus, you are distinguished by strength in war, and in council you have turned out the best amid all of your own age; not a man among the Greeks will quarrel with that word of yours, nor will any gainsay it; but the last word in our parley, reached it have you not. To clan, to law, to home a renegade is he, who hankers after freezing civil strife." The last sentence reproves the sharp personal attack on Agamemnon made by Diomede, which, as Nestor says, is not the best way of ending a discussion; while the last but one before it approves the confident word of Diomede, that God is on their side in warring against Troy. This is all in perfect keeping. But before the last sentence he is made to say, "To be sure you are also young, and you might even be a son of mine, youngest by birth; but there is wisdom

in your words." Now the particles of connection here do not truly connect this with what is said before. Young as well as what? As well as wise, we should understand, did not the next words show that this thought has yet to be enforced in opposition to his youth; and its enforcement there repeats what Nestor said above, but had qualified by saying that his wisdom has its limits. The truth is that these particles are incorrectly used, and their right use may be seen in II 291. He next is made to say, "Come then, I, who claim to be an elder man than you, will say my say and will pursue it to the full; nor will any man underrate my word, not even our ruler Agamemnon." We now expect some decisive word from Nestor, which all will accept, and which will relieve the cruel situation of the king. But what he proposes is the posting of sentinels and an immediate adjournment to Agamemnon's tent. There he does suggest the one and only course, to pacify Achilles, but not here, and for a very good reason, as we shall see later on, when we consider Grote's objections to the Embassy. The verses, then, in which he is made to say that he will speak the final word at once, are both out of place themselves and the cause of the two next, which denounce intestine strife, being out of place; and they seem to have been put in to soften an abruptness in that denunciation, which, however, has a very forcible effect. But here the best argument is to ask the

reader first to peruse those 6 verses with care, and then to read the speech without them; and perhaps he will admit that the ease with which they disappear, together with the improvement that their disappearance makes, is sufficient warrant to condemn them.

But now the reader may be appalled to learn that the rest of the book contains 407 lines. Yes, but Homer has another old man who is made to tell long stories, besides Nestor, and he is Phoenix. Phoenix was a native of Hellas, who came to Phthia, where he was kindly received by King Peleus, and appointed tutor to his infant son Achilles. Such a liking did Achilles take to Phoenix, that he would never touch a bit of food until he was set upon his tutor's knees, and received his sop of bread and wine from his tutor's hand. And when the aged Peleus parted with his only son for Agamemnon's campaign, he sent the venerable Phoenix along with him, to instruct his inexperience in the council and the field. So Nestor with great sagacity pitches upon this man to guide the two envoys, Ajax and Odysseus, into the presence of Achilles; while the two heralds, Odius and Eurybates, complete the train. Well, the two envoys advance into the tent of Achilles, Odysseus leading, and are received by its master with every token of affection and esteem. The formal hospitalities are concluded, and Ajax makes a sign to Phoenix that all is ready to begin, meaning

him no doubt to put in a few smooth words of transition to the difficult business in hand. But Odysseus, encouraged by the warmth of Achilles' reception, and completely deceived about the difference of his sentiments toward Agamemnon, without waiting for Phoenix, charges a cup with wine, pledges Achilles' health, thanks him for his hospitality, which he compares with that of Agamemnon, and plunges headlong into his commission. His oration is a total failure. Achilles replies in words of burning indignation; both the envoys are silenced; and at last the aged Phoenix speaks. So far all is superb. But now Phoenix speaks on for 172 verses, 31 of which inform us how he seduced his father's concubine at his mother's request, was cursed by his father for doing it, was resolved to quit his angry father's halls, was kept in honourable confinement by his cousins and his kinsmen camping all around, but on the tenth night of captivity broke loose and escaped out of Hellas; and 76 of which narrate the still more irrelevant story of Meleager. Can any man believe that these merry tales were told at this solemn moment? Few believe it, I am sure, and therefore I pass to my impending point. If 31 be added to 76, it makes 107; and if 107 be deducted from 407, it leaves 300. The speech of Phoenix is thus reduced to the modest dimension of 65 verses, which bears a very natural proportion to that of Odysseus in 82, and that of Achilles in 122; and

it is composed of an affecting account of the infancy of Achilles, and the celebrated allegory of the Prayers.

Now the whole question here is whether the joints are plain, or whether we have chosen the points of junction solely to suit our purpose. I assert that in the case of each story the limits of its interpolation are as clear as daylight. The first insertion lies between the words Ἑλλάδα καλλιγύναικα in verse 447, and the words Ἑλλάδος εὐρυχόροιο in verse 478, with which the storyteller conducts us round to the exact spot from which we diverged. "I would not consent to be left behind by you," Phoenix says to Achilles, who thinks of going home, "not even if a god himself were to promise to strip off my old age and make me young and fresh, as when first I forsook HELLAS with its fair women, and came to fertile Phthia, mother of sheep, even to King Peleus." All is quite coherent. But here our storyteller has a chance of explaining why Phoenix forsook Hellas with its fair women, and came to fertile Phthia; and after that phrase he adds, "flying from the abuse of my father Amyntor, son of Ormenus, who was exceedingly angry with me about a comely concubine. . . . Then I fled away through HELLAS with its wide dancing grounds," and came to fertile Phthia. It is a capital story, but not the least in place. So with the other one. "If Agamemnon did not proffer gifts and mention more to come, but were to persist

for ever in his harshness, I would not be the man to urge you to throw aside your wrath and succour the Greeks, however sore their need. But now he both offers you many gifts at this moment, and has promised more hereafter, and has chosen the noblest men in all the Grecian host, and the men who are dearest to yourself, and has sent them forward to entreat you. Do you not put to shame their eloquence and their errand; though hitherto it was excusable that you should be angry. Nay, do not conceive any such design yourself, and may no evil spirit prompt you to that course. It will be harder to help us when the ships are already burning. Accept the gifts, and come." This again is all coherent. But after the verb "be angry" in verse 523 comes "So also have we heard the famous stories of the warrior heroes of old, when one of them was seized with furious anger," which is manifestly the transition to the story of Meleager; and the end is at *κακὸν δ' ἤμυνε καὶ αὖτως* in verse 599, because it is the last thing said about him. So that here are two stories often thought out of place, the beginnings and ends of which are clear, and which when taken together make up 107 verses, and which when subtracted from a total of 407 leave exactly 300 lines between two important pauses in the poem; and if this be an accident, after all that is shown above, there is no meaning whatever in the word design.

The Tenth Book, which contains the Deeds of Dolon, I give up altogether. It is generally admitted by modern critics not to be part of the original plan of the poem, and some ancient critics thought so too. "This rhapsody is said to have been drawn up independently by Homer, and not to be a part of the Iliad, but to have been arranged for inclusion in the poem by Peisistratus," says a Scholiast. And Mr. Monro, so cautious elsewhere, is positive here, calling it in his edition of the Odyssey, p. 291, "undoubtedly," and p. 371 "certainly," later than the rest of the Iliad. Sir Richard Jebb uses just the same words, and, needless to say, a similar view is held by Dr. Leaf. The late Mr. Andrew Lang, for whose views on Homer I feel a deep respect, upheld the book; but it seems to me that in this instance he weakened his general case by pushing his defence too far. The more recent defence of the book by Mr. Shewan proves indeed, to my mind, that its language is like the Homeric; but we must distinguish, in estimating the value of this argument, the question of authorship and age. I will not waste time by repeating the familiar arguments against it, nor have I any to add; for as I can hardly assume that the truth of my view has yet established itself in the mind of my reader, it will not do to argue that it is excluded by the tercentenary test. But I may state that it can neither be divided up within itself, containing as

it does 579 verses, from which you cannot take 279 and leave anything coherent ; nor be connected with the Eleventh Book in such a way that, by striking out some suspicious passage, you can make the contents lie in groups of 300 verses between three natural pauses in the poem. There is no passage of Book X more suspicious than the rest, though there may be a later line here and there ; and it is evident that no pause could be more natural than that which comes before the beginning of Book XI. I like the book myself, as I like many of the things which we have ventured to exclude. But I do not like the way in which they are thrust into their present places, injuring the context and suffering themselves, destroying the proportions of the poem and distorting the lines of the characters. If the reader agrees about this, he will see how the state of the argument really lies : that so far from it being an objection to the tercentenary test that it excludes such things as these, if it did not exclude them, but left them where they are, it would have little plausibility at all.

Well, now we come to Canto XVIII, the beginning of which coincides with that of Book XI, and the end of which I place after verse 309. It contains the Prowess of Agamemnon, and terminates at the time when Hector, who during Agamemnon's career has withdrawn from the battle by order of Zeus, is by the wounding of the great king released

from his inaction and slays a number of Greeks. This little episode serves to sunder the Prowess of Agamemnon from the progress of the lesser chiefs, who at the beginning of the next canto come forward one by one, and are in succession nearly all disabled. The 9 verses which I should strike out are 223–231, which relate the bringing up of Iphidamas, son of Antenor, by Cisseus of Thrace, who gave him his own daughter in marriage. For they offer us the repulsive information that Iphidamas married his mother's sister, Cisseus being the father also of Theano, who is Antenor's wife. Such horrid incest I believe to be absolutely unknown to the veritable Homer, the only other instance being given by the genealogy of Diomede in Book XIV 115–125, which together with Book V 412 produces the result that this splendid hero was the brother-in-law of his father Tydeus. But on other grounds I feel certain that the genealogy of Diomede is false; and the fact that both the passages concur in this particular, which is otherwise unknown in the Iliad, may confirm our belief that the one before us is spurious as well. Then, again, the present passage does not face quite the same way as what is said about the marriage of Iphidamas 12 lines lower down, though it may not be flatly opposite. For here it is said that Cisseus put pressure on Iphidamas to stay with him, when he had arrived at years of manhood, and offered him his daughter in marriage;

which implies that Cisseus was ambitious of a match with the Trojan prince. But down below this eagerness is seen on the side of Iphidamas, who gave first of all a hundred oxen, and afterwards promised a thousand, goats withal and sheep, before he could wed the bride. And here it is said that after his marriage he came out of his bridal chamber to follow the fame of the Achaeans; but down below it is said that he knew no joy at all of his wedded wife, for all the price he paid, which appears as if he never had entered it. And why does not the poet despatch the whole matter of the marriage straight off, instead of giving us the first part up above and then retreating on his traces to give the second part lower down? But I believe that the second passage only was genuine, and that he never told us who the wife of Iphidamas was; and therefore another hand put in the first passage, which informs us that she was his aunt. We may notice that Iphidamas is not named as a leader of Thracians in the Trojan Catalogue; but it is only in the spurious passage that he is so described, bringing them in 12 ships which he left at Percote. So that either it is another instance of careless compilation by the author of the Catalogue, or else this passage is a later addition to the poem even than that. And here are 9 most suspicious verses, which vanish with ease and leave no trace behind them, making the number of verses exactly 300.

The end of Canto XIX we place after verse 617, where Patroclus leaves the side of Achilles to inquire about the wounded Machaon; and with the beginning of the next we go back to Nestor, whom we left a little higher up bringing the wounded Machaon off the field. The former has 308 verses. First of all there are a pair of isolated verses, one of which probably, and the other certainly, ought to be removed. The one is 515, which was obelized by Aristarchus and Aristophanes, and omitted by Zenodotus. The physician Machaon is wounded, and Idomeneus at once urges Nestor to carry him off, adding, "for a man who is a doctor is worth a host of others"; to which is now subjoined, "to cut out arrows and apply soothing medicines." The ancient critics objected with reason, firstly, that there is no necessity to enumerate the duties of a doctor, and secondly, that by limiting them to the extraction of arrows and medication of their wounds the notion of a doctor is degraded. Dr. Leaf affirms that the line fairly represents the primitive stage of Homeric medicine. But if this was all the length it went, a practitioner of it is not well described as worth a host of warriors. Dr. Hentze brackets the verse. The other verse is 543, which is found in none of our manuscripts, but is quoted in connection with 542 in Aristotle's Rhetoric and by Plutarch, whence it was inserted in the text by Wolf. But unlike the former instance of this kind, it can hardly be con-

strued ; and of the four places in which it is quoted, it is quoted differently in each. It says that Zeus was indignant with Hector, whenever he fought with a better man; and it purports to give the reason why he avoided fighting with Ajax. But that Hector should be scrupulous about fighting with Ajax, after the duel in Book VII, we readily grasp; and the reason here alleged is absurd, for the very next thing done by Zeus is to terrify Ajax himself, since Hector will not do it for him. The verse is bracketed or rejected in all the texts. So much for 2 of our 8 verses.

Now there is a simile of 10 lines in verses 548–557, wherein the retreating Ajax is compared to a lion who reluctantly leaves a fold of oxen, although longing for the flesh, being driven off by the javelins and burning faggots of the countrymen. But 6 of the 10 verses are repeated word for word in Book XVII 659–664; and since this simile is almost immediately followed by another long simile of 8 lines, in which Ajax is likened to an ass cudgelled out of a cornfield, most editors reject the other here. But Dr. Leaf thinks it appropriate here and pointless in the other place. I suspect that his belief in the originality of this part of Book XI and his want of faith in the originality of that part of Book XVII may have influenced his decision about this vigorous simile; but it may not be so, for Professor Gilbert Murray agrees with him. But with all due respect to these excellent scholars, I see strong ground for

an opposite conclusion. For you can cut out the 6 repeated verses here, leaving in the 4 original ones, which by themselves make up a compact little simile before we come on to the long one of the ass; and this is the poet's manner again and again. But in the other place you cannot cut out the 6 repeated verses without making nonsense of those that are original. So that if you remove the simile there, you lose five original lines of the poet; but by merely removing the repeated verses here, you do not lose a single original line. Nor is the simile in the other book so pointless after all. For there it is applied to Menelaus, who is slowly withdrawing from the body of Patroclus; and he is very well compared to a lion who leaves the flesh that he longs for. But here Ajax has no corpse in front of him at all; so that it is not half as appropriate. I would therefore remove the six verses here, and make the main simile that of the ass. And is it not most odd that by this simple operation we produce the round number of 300 lines?

The next canto carries us on into the Twelfth Book. But it will be more convenient to start from the end of that book, where there is an unmistakable pause. For at that moment the Trojans carry the Wall, and Zeus turns around his eyes to the Thracians, the Mysians, the Hippemolgi, and the Abii, justest of men; and Poseidon has an innings. And here we come to what I consider one of the

most convincing examples of our theory; for it solves a difficulty which has perplexed Homeric critics for 1760 years. I say this to rouse the reader's attention, on which the solution makes some demand. Well, if we look back about 300 lines from the end of the book, we shall find a most suitable pause after XII 174. For at this point Asius, son of Hyrtacus, who has made a confident charge at a gate, but has found himself foiled by the presence of the two Lapithae, Polypoetes and Leonteus, upbraids Zeus in words of bitter disappointment; after which the poet tells us in two lines that Zeus was not at all moved by it, for he meant to give Hector the glory of first getting over the Wall. And here we part company with Asius until Book XIII 388, where he is slain by Idomeneus, so fulfilling what is stated by anticipation at verse 117 of our present book.

But here we seem face to face with a staggering difficulty. For from this point to the end of the book there are only 297 lines; and there is no ground for supposing any verses to be lost, the tendency in Homer being all the other way, to put in verses that ought not to be there. And what makes the matter worse, the first 7 of these verses are almost certainly spurious. They are completely pointless in themselves; the ancient critics all rejected them; the first of them is evidently borrowed from XV 414; the second is

ἀργαλέον δέ με ταῦτα θεὸν ὡς πάντ' ἀγορεῦσαι,

said in the person of the poet, which is very rare; the third and fourth contain a violent disjunction of τεῖχος from its epithet λάϊνον, with πῦρ coming in between, which has led some annotators to give it the epithet; and as for the last of them, more anon. The difficulty is not in deciding that the verses ought to be rejected, for every man must feel that they are false, but in discovering why they were ever put in. For although there is a mention of the Lapithae in the last, yet this verse so abruptly closes the paragraph at the end of which it stands, that it seems quite impossible to suppose that the 6 preceding verses were concocted to lead up to it; and there is a perfectly genuine mention of the Lapithae 53 lines higher up, which makes it superfluous to remind us that the heroes who now come on the scene belong to that tribe. Dr. Leaf considers that they were meant to support a theory about the gates of the Greek camp. However this may be, spurious the verses undoubtedly are; and so we are left with only 290 lines.

But there is a difficulty ten times greater up above in this book, and perhaps the one will assist us to surmount the other. If the reader will look at verses 131–140, he will see that in this passage the two Lapith chiefs are described as standing before the gate like tall oaks upon the mountains, which withstand the wind and rain for days and days, so firmly fixed by their great stretching roots. But again, if he goes 5 lines

lower down, he will find these same Lapith chiefs charging out of the gate like a pair of wild boars; which is a mere impossibility. You cannot be planted before a gate like a tall oak, and at the same time go charging out of it like a wild boar. This difficulty perplexed the ancient critics horribly, and well it might; for nobody but a lunatic could think of such a thing, however fine the language in which it is said. Porphyry tells us that some of them wished to transpose verses 141–153, which contain the simile of the wild boars, to a position higher up; and Hephaestion has another way out of it. But the true solution is to take the 10 verses just above Porphyry's, verses 131–140, which contain the simile of the tall oaks, and put them into the place of the 7 spurious verses which we have expelled, and to which no doubt their displacement is due. The planting before the gate will then follow the rushing out instead of preceding it, which was the object of the ancient transposition; and we shall have exactly 300 lines to the end of the book. This makes the same junction of verse 130 with verse 141 that Porphyry's critics proposed, but of course not the same at the other end, the piece that we move up being longer than theirs. The narrative now flows on with a pellucid smoothness. The two Lapithae charge out and stop the rush of Asius, much to his disgust. Then follows the little episode of his indignation against Zeus, with its

concluding couplet. And then, with the beginning of the next canto, we go back to the Lapithae again: "So they two stood before the lofty gate like tall oaks upon the mountains," and so on to the exploits of Polypoetes and Leonteus respectively. And here, by the way, I must correct what I said about Asius above; for after this transposition we do not take quite a final leave of him at the end of the last canto, but he is once more mentioned as leading on the Trojans against the Lapiths. But the pause is good and clear all the same, and the mention makes no difference. This is Canto XXI.

We now return to Canto XX, adding what remained of the Eleventh Book to what is left of the Twelfth before the pause, less the 10 verses which we put at the beginning of Canto XXI. The sum is $231 + 174 - 10 = 395$. The reader doubtless surmises what this large figure imports. The canto contains a long story of Nestor. But before we come to it, there is a single verse which must necessarily go. It is XI 662, in which Nestor tells Patroclus that Eurypylus is wounded, as well as Diomede and Odysseus and Agamemnon. This is hardly possible; for Nestor left the field before it happened. The verse is omitted in a great many manuscripts; it is obviously borrowed from XVI 27, where Patroclus repeats Nestor's words about the other chiefs to Achilles, but adds the name of Eurypylus from his own knowledge; for

he meets him coming wounded from the field on leaving Nestor's tent. Hence all texts bracket the verse. Well, now we expect to find 94 verses which go out of Nestor's speech of 148. And sure enough we find them all, waiting there ready to depart, setting out with the last third part of verse 668 *οὐ γὰρ ἐμὴ ἶς*, which paves the way for the digressional formula *εἴθ' ὡς ἠβώοιμι* just below, and ending up with the first two thirds of verse 762 *ὡς ἔον, εἴ ποτ' ἔον γε, μετ' ἀνδράσιν*, which close the story. Cut it all out, and the first two thirds of the one verse will fit on to the last third of the other without leaving a trace of the operation, and we have our 300 lines.

But I admit that at first sight it looks as if we ought to begin our excision 4 lines higher up, with the words *αὐτὰρ* 'Αχιλλεύς, which are the very words with which we resume below; and so Dr. Leaf says, "From *αὐτὰρ* 'Αχιλλεὺς here to the same words in 762 is beyond a doubt a later passage." But I am persuaded that it is otherwise, and that the words are a rhetorical repetition, and a very fine one too. For if we cut out what comes between *αὐτὰρ* 'Αχιλλεὺς and *οὐ γὰρ ἐμὴ ἶς*, we shall lose some most appropriate verses. "Diomede is wounded, and Odysseus is wounded, and Agamemnon is wounded," says Nestor, "and here am I bringing Machaon also wounded from the field. But ACHILLES, whole though he is, has neither

care nor pity for the Greeks. Is he waiting till our ships are burning with the enemy's fire, and ourselves are slain one after the other? But ACHILLES will enjoy that integrity all by himself! Yet I think that he will shed many tears of repentance, when the people have utterly perished." You see how well the repetition of the name marks out Achilles from all his wounded and dead companions, whose life alone could lend enjoyment to his strength and his eminence in arms. And surely the connection of ἐσθλὸς and τῆς ἀρετῆς on either side of the interpolation is intentional, the definite article with ἀρετῆς referring back to the ability for service expressed in ἐσθλὸς, not to mention the opposition of the terms to the disabled chiefs and burning ships. Then if we remove what lies between the repeated names, we lose the notion of the successive slaughter, a thought suggested to Nestor by the successive wounding in this day's fight, than which there is nothing more natural. And again it is just at the point of junction which we have taken that absurdity first begins. "Is he waiting till our ships are burning with the enemy's fire? For MY strength is not what it formerly was in my flexible limbs. Would that I were as young as when," and so on to the following story. But who is this braggart, who imagines that the safety of the whole Greek host might be reckoned to depend upon himself? For

the emphasis on the pronoun distinguishes him as the natural alternative to Achilles. Not our old friend Nestor, who is as full of modesty as he is full of wisdom? No, but the phantom of Nestor, which is used as a vehicle for the long self-laudatory tales throughout the poem, and which here goes on for 94 lines. And as for the story itself, these are Dr. Leaf's words: "This lifelike picture of a little border raid is in itself inimitable, and we may well be grateful for it. But yet, if we take it with its context, we are forced to admit that it has no bearing on the situation, and is grotesquely out of place at a moment when Patroklos has refused even to sit down, in order that he may return with all speed to Achilles. It spoils the effect of the other story at the end of the speech, which is essential. The language is notably Odyssean in character, as is pointed out in the notes. The four-horse chariot is a mark of late origin." None of this can be gainsaid, and there is more of it which I omit to quote. But observe that our theory, while excluding the story which is said to be grotesquely out of place, does not touch a line of the story which is said to be essential.

We proceed to Canto XXII, the beginning of which falls in with that of Book XIII, and the end of which I place after verse 329, this being the moment when Idomeneus and Meriones, after some

little preparation, re-enter the battle. The next canto begins with the Prowess of Idomeneus. The canto before is largely occupied with the cautious exertions of Poseidon, while the eyes of Zeus are turned away, which become more pronounced two cantos later on, when Zeus is tricked to sleep. And here again our doctrine adjusts itself as if by magic to the previous suspicions of scholars. For though there is no untimely tale or long genealogy of 29 verses, there is a passage every whit as clear. Look at Dr. Leaf's introduction: "Doubts have also been thrown on 266–294, but they cannot be regarded as fundamental." Turn to Dr. Leaf's notes: "266–94 is a passage which has aroused general suspicion, so inappropriate does this verbose vaingloriousness seem at so critical a moment. Beyond this general 'subjective' difficulty, however, there is no serious cause of offence, if we except 268, which is very strange, as we should have supposed that Meriones and Idomeneus, so closely connected in every way, must have had huts near together." To the subjective difficulty of the passage I apply an objective test, and find that the two coincide exactly; for 266–294 is exactly 29 lines. And you will observe that what is here called "very strange" occurs in the third line of the passage; so that the interpolator could not go on for three lines together without betraying himself. And the beginning and end of the passage are well marked; for you can

continue with ὣς φάτο, Μηριόνης δὲ in verse 295 as well as with τὸν δ' αὖ Μηριόνης, and leave no perceptible trace.

What happens is this. Meriones breaks his spear on the shield of Deiphobus, and goes to his tent to fetch another. There or thereabouts he meets Idomeneus coming from his own tent fully armed. For Idomeneus had left the battle before, to give a charge to the physicians about a wounded comrade, and now resumes his arms in order to re-enter the fight: this of course being designed to account for the previous silence about Idomeneus, during the attack on the Wall, the poet finding it convenient to hold over his exploits to the following canto; though he kept us in mind of his valour by what he said about Asius above. Now the fact that Idomeneus has laid aside his armour has aroused some suspicion, which would extend the range of the interpolation in a manner most unsuited to our theory. But in the first place you cannot detach that part of the episode without being drawn into wider ravages, which are wholly improbable. And in the next place the suspicion itself is all a mistake. The Homeric heroes lay aside their armour as soon as ever a chance is given them. This is shown by Book VII 101–193, where between Hector's issuing a challenge and the settling who shall accept it, Menelaus and Ajax and others have all laid down their arms, and indeed long before, during

the delivery of the challenge itself, when Hector has stopped the fight for a moment to make it; as we may learn from the first of those verses. Well, Meriones and Idomeneus meet, and Idomeneus is surprised that his friend has left the field. Meriones briefly tells him why, and Idomeneus proudly replies that he will find standing in his tent a score or more of spears, which he has taken from the Trojans. We now expect Meriones to run and take a spear, and hasten back with his comrade into the field; and so he does 30 lines lower down. But meanwhile the words of Idomeneus, which again are only meant to remind us of his valour and to send him off into the fight with an air of success, are construed by Meriones as an affront upon himself; and in this way the interpolator makes a setting for his gem, which is one indeed, being a little general account of an ambuscade, where the worth of a man is chiefly seen. "So have I," says Meriones, "so have I plenty of Trojan spoils; but they are far away where I cannot come at them. And I am every bit as eager to fight as yourself; and you of all the Greeks should know that best." Then Idomeneus: "I know your worth very well. Why say these things? For if at this moment all the best of us here by the ships were to be chosen for an ambush," and so on with the behaviour of the coward and the hero respectively in that trying incident of war. And all this at a moment when Poseidon him-

self has urged Idomeneus to be quick, and when Meriones is in a passion to get back at Deiphobus with another spear! Good, but out of place, must again be our reflection; and the linguistic difficulties of this passage are great.

Canto XXIII is the central one of the poem, having 22 cantos on each side of it. And we may notice, as a small indication of the truth of our theory, that it is assigned to the warrior who is stated to be *μεσαιπόλιος*, half-grey or middle-aged; which is perhaps the reason why the poet has held back this respectable hero, though unwounded, for so long. But this intimate touch, like his solicitude about an unnamed comrade in XIII 210–214, his infirmity in his feet in XIII 512–515, his trouble with his eyes in XXIII 457–477, and his iterated confidence in doctors, suggests special knowledge of the Cretan prince. And the great deference shown to him by Agamemnon in IV 257–264, together with the lack of any real zest in describing his actual performances, may lead us to think that the poet had a courtly motive for giving a place of honour in the poem to his deeds.

But before he fairly embarks us on his exploits, he sums up the situation in what now appear as a couple of paragraphs, the second of which ends with the metaphor of a tug of war; which again is not unsuitable here in the middle of the poem. The pause I set after verse 642, where the canto

is wound up with a very striking speech of Menelaus over the dead Peisander, and 3 more verses which end the incident; after which a new incident begins, which is not so very striking in itself, except for a curious oversight on the poet's part, but which serves to bring forward Paris, as the last canto closed with Menelaus. So that the principal parties to the quarrel are with much art brought before us in the middle of the poem, and then again permitted to retire. The former canto has 313 lines. Well, if the reader will look at the second of the two paragraphs said above, verses 345–360, he will see that 13 of these 16 verses are devoted to explaining the sentiments of Zeus and Poseidon respectively. Dr. Leaf says, on verse 345, "The following passage—to 360—is clearly out of place; there appears to be no other case of such a lengthy and superfluous recapitulation in Homer. Perhaps it may have originally formed the proem to this book, and been superseded by the more elaborate passage which now begins it." Now I should not myself have condemned the passage on this ground; for on my view it is not so unnatural that the sentiments of the two opposing gods should be distinctly stated here. Nevertheless I am confident that the first 13 lines of the passage are false, and that the opportunity which the situation afforded of saying something about the two gods, in addition to what is said about the two armies in the previous

paragraph, has been seized by some clever hand. There are particular difficulties in the lines; but the plain and simple reason is that their insertion has made the 3 remaining verses unintelligible. These verses contain the metaphor of the tug of war, the important pair being

τοὶ δ' ἔριδος κρατερῆς καὶ ὁμοιΐου πολέμοιο
πεῖραρ ἐπαλλάξαντες ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροισι τάνυσσαν.

The words as they stand refer to the two gods, though it ought to be τὼ as at the beginning of the paragraph, and they mean, "And they, alternately giving and taking, stretched tight above both parties a rope of strife and war." But can we conceive of such a rope, presumably meant to pull about the hostile parties, being stretched above their heads? What manner of influence could it be thought to have, unless some mode of connection with those below were indicated? And how could it be possibly stretched tight by the two gods, Zeus sitting up on Ida, with his eyes averted to the close-fighting Mysians and milk-eating Hippemolgians, and Poseidon walking down on the plain, in the likeness of Thoas the Aetolian? Homer is seldom as confusing in his imagery as this. The tug of war must take place between the parties themselves, not over their heads, just as when Poseidon and Hector have a tussle, in XIV 389 αἰνοτάτην ἔριδα πτολέμοιο τάνυσσαν, the selfsame metaphor as here.

We ought then to throw out the 13 verses about the gods, and rectify the mistake that their insertion has caused by reading ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι, "stretched tight against each other," and join the 3 verses on to the end of the last paragraph about the armies, as τοὶ sufficiently shows. And this same word ἀλλήλοισι, though it does not appear in any of our copies, was a variant in the text of Aristarchus. This makes our 300 lines.

We advance to Canto XXIV, the end of which cannot be placed earlier than Book XIV 134. For there is begun, with the familiar words οὐδ' ἀλαοσκοπιὴν, the episode known as the Deception of Zeus, which was designed to give Poseidon a free hand on the plain; and things go swimmingly thereafter. This makes 329 lines. There are two isolated verses which must certainly go. The first is XIII 731. Polydamas says to Hector, "To one man God has given works of war, but in the bosom of another, Zeus places serviceable wit, and many are the men who benefit by that"; which is the precise distinction between Hector and himself. But between the two comes "and to another man dancing, and to a different man lyre and song." The verse is omitted in a number of manuscripts, and we are told the name of the man who put it in, a certain Zenodotus of Mallus, who thought our Homer a Chaldee. All the texts that I have seen reject it. The other verse is XIII 749, in which

we hear that Hector, pleased with the wise suggestion of Polydamas, sprang from his chariot to the ground. This is impossible. Hector and the other Trojan chiefs all left their chariots outside the trench, as we are told at XII 80–85; and the only one who brought his across was Asius, driving straight over a causeway up to the gate where he found the two Lapithae posted. And consistently with this, we find at XIII 385 that he alone of all has got his chariot through the gate, when the Greeks have yielded the Wall; a verse on which Dr. Leaf most unfairly fixes, when he says that chariots are introduced exactly as if the battle were in the open plain, meaning to show that the Wall is ignored, the poet not having occasion to mention it between verses 124 and 679. But this was an exceptional case fully explained before; and why we should expect to hear much about the Wall, when we have left it behind us and are getting on to the Ships, I do not quite conceive. But to conclude, some manuscripts omit the verse, which is wrongly repeated from XII 81, where the circumstances are similar, and the texts as a rule put it out. Now it might be supposed that we ought to prune another pair of verses; for into this canto come the famous pair, XIII 658–659, in which Pylaemenes, king of the Paphlagonians, who was taken off by Menelaus at V 576, comes to life again and follows his son Harpalion's body back to Troy, shedding

tears the while. But with most modern editors I regard this as a perfectly genuine oversight, and not to be touched for an instant. For not to insist upon the wide interval between the Fifth and Thirteenth Books, with the innumerable names of killed and wounded in between, we can see how easily the poet might slip into the mistake. He has told us up above how Harpalion followed his dear father to the war, and never came back to his own native land; and it makes a very good ending to the incident to tell us how the father followed his dear son to the tomb, from which he would never return.

We must therefore find 27 verses elsewhere, if our theory is to hold water; but we have only to divide the number into 16 and 11 to note how it can be done. For the 16 verses XIII 685–700 are very suspicious, as all admit, containing the sole mention of Ionians in Homer, and seeming to make them identical with or to be fully represented by the Athenians; the sole use of the name Phthians, whose leaders are stated to be Medon and Podarces, whereas in the Catalogue Medon succeeded to the command of the disabled Philoctetes, and Podarces to that of the buried Protesilaus, over different though neighbouring tribes; and the three chieftains of the Epeians here named are all different from the four in the Catalogue, where one of them, Meges, is leader of the Dulichians. Then the two epithets

ἑλκεχίτωνες and φαιδιμόεντες never occur again in Homer; while the first is absurdly misapplied to soldiers engaged in fighting, and the second is incorrectly formed. Nor have I noticed another instance in the Iliad where the poet introduces heroes with the words ἔνθα δὲ, as he does here, though he uses ἔνθα and ἔνθ' αὖ often enough; which is a small point, but a straw will show what way the wind is blowing. And near the end there are 4 verses, which inform us that Medon was a natural son of Oïleus, and the brother of Ajax, but dwelt in Phylace, having slain a kinsman of his stepmother Eriopis, whom Oïleus had to wife; which 4 verses are repeated word for word in XV 333–336, and this sort of thing cannot be told twice. Leave out the 16 verses, and the paragraph opens very well by telling us that Ajax, son of Oïleus, no longer stood apart from Ajax, son of Telamon, not for a moment; for we heard before how they were separated by an urgent call from Menestheus at Book XII 331–370.

The other 11 verses are XIV 115–125, which contain the genealogy bringing out the fact that Diomede married his aunt. But I need not waste time in attacking it. For, in the first place, it is a genealogy; and, in the next place, it goes out with perfect ease. And it leads off in the regular strain, Πορθεῖ γὰρ τρεῖς παῖδες and so forth, which every man who reads this short and hurried consultation of the chiefs must condemn as out of tune. Dr. Leaf's

instinct has fixed the limits with almost perfect precision: "But the whole passage from 114 to 125 is not only needless but incongruous, and quite alien to the character of Diomedes, who is fond of alluding to his father's prowess, but could hardly give a jejune catalogue of his relationships at such a moment." I leave in verse 114, which closes the preceding sentence, and seems to me fine and grand; but, for the rest, the passage which is both incongruous and needless to Dr. Leaf is exactly the one that we excise.

On we move to Canto XXV, the Deception of Zeus and Poseidon's open succour of the Greeks. It goes down to verse 439, where the first and foremost object is attained, that of getting Hector out of the way. He is wounded by Ajax, carried off the field by his comrades to the Ford of Scamander, where he swoons a second time, and there for the present he is left. This makes 305 lines. Now for the most part this canto is admitted to be nearly perfect. "Only one passage," says Dr. Leaf, "the 'Leporello-catalogue' of 317–327, has been widely questioned from Aristarchos onwards." It contains a list of ladies beloved by Zeus, but is not rightly called a catalogue. It is rather a crescendo or climax, in which Zeus says to Hera that he never felt a passion for one of them, no, nor for Hera herself before, comparable to that which he feels for her at present. But what does indeed make it look like

a catalogue is, not the naming of the ladies themselves, but the five alternate verses 318, 320, 322, 324–325, in which the offspring of each of them is stated, and which sadly retard the growing excitement of the climax. And the very first name is Peirithous the Lapith, this being a verse not unlike the one that we struck out of the Catalogue, and designed to confer on him the parentage of Zeus. So that if we remove these 5 verses, we shall have our 300 and a much better story. But here a hitch occurs. For there is another verse in this canto, verse 269, which possesses slight manuscript authority. It names Pasithea, one of the younger Graces, whom Hera promises to Hypnus as a reward for putting Zeus to sleep. But the verse is repeated 7 lines lower down, where Hypnus mentions the particular one of the younger Graces whom he wants, which Hera could hardly know before, and from this position it has almost certainly been foisted in above.

And here the reader will with justice wish to know whether there are not in our previous cantos some more of these isolated verses, which rest upon little manuscript authority, and which when thrown out would reduce our number below the 300. I will answer in this way. Hitherto our rejection of this species of verse has included, with one exception, all those that are bracketed in the Oxford text of the late Provost of Oriel, a man of the most steady judgment, and of course in the front rank

of Homeric scholars; so that if there are any other verses which can fairly be impugned on the ground of insufficient manuscript authority (but I do not believe that there are), it can always be replied that it was not so clear to this excellent critic that they ought to be excised. The sole exception is V 808, but there it is scarcely a question of manuscript authority; for not a single manuscript omits the verse. It was omitted by Aristarchus, but retained by Zenodotus, a critic more severe, who was always cutting out verses that had the least thing to be said against them. And one of Mr. Monro's objections, that the verse is repeated at IV 390, we have removed by cutting out the story of Tydeus in which the repetition occurs. And his other objection is not well founded. For Athene there narrates, that when Tydeus had run into a difficulty at Thebes by challenging the natives counter to her orders, still she came to the rescue and pulled him out of it; and so she bids his son Diomede trust to her aid now when she urges him to fight: a point which is not seized by those who would exclude the line. But, for the rest, our excision includes all the verses excised by Mr. Monro. Nor will we part company from him here. For if the reader will look again at the verses which I labelled alternate above, he will see that the expression is incorrect, as verses 324–325 are consecutive. The son of Zeus named in the first of those two verses I would alone retain, and

banish all the rest, who are Peirithous, Perseus, Minos and Rhadamanthus, and Dionysus. But the other is Heracles, one of the few heroes, other than those who figure in the main story, whose legend is somewhat copious in Homer. And he has been mentioned just above, in the colloquy of Hera and Hypnus, where the timorous Sleep reminds the goddess how he was maltreated by Zeus, when he played the same trick on him before at Hera's bidding, that she might molest Heracles. And we learn, when Zeus wakes up, how he punished Hera for it too. Hence it is like his spiteful fun to throw in the name of Heracles, as he does the names of Hera's feminine rivals, at the moment when he is confessing himself her slave. And it all accords with what the poet told us above, that Hera thought Zeus repulsive at present, but sacrificed her feelings to her care about the Greeks. And Alcmena is the last of the mortal ladies named, so that there was a place for the mention of Heracles at the end of the list. And what clinches the matter is that Zeus speaks of himself as loving Alcmena in Thebes, a circumstance which he puts in about none of the rest, and which must be meant to prepare us for the notice of Heracles. I would therefore keep in verse 324 and throw out the other four, which have little or nothing to do with the matter, together with the wrong one about Pasithea above; and this reduces 305 to 300 exact.

Canto XXVI goes on from the wounding of Hector and the shortlived recovery of the Greeks, which is soon arrested by Zeus waking up, down to Book XV 217, an important moment when Poseidon, ordered off the field by Zeus, under protest departs. With the next canto we return to pick up Hector, who at a like command of Zeus is revived by Apollo. The former canto causes us no trouble. It has exactly 300 lines, without a verse subject to serious charge. By this time, methinks, our cumulative proof has begun to grow crushing, and we might as well turn it about, and claim that instead of our theory having to conform to the suspicions of scholars, the suspicions of scholars should be guided by it. We might speak with more freedom of our tercentenary pause as a tercentenary test. But we will not do this, but go steadily on, for there are still some breakers ahead.

And here they come rolling down upon us in Canto XXVII, in the shape of 185 verses, which must somehow be disproved; for the pause cannot well be placed earlier than verse 702, that is 485 lines later, after which things go smooth for a space. The Trojans, in the previous canto driven back over the trench, are in the present one rallied by Hector and Apollo, who terrifies the Greeks by waving an aegis, as in the canto last but one Poseidon had dismayed the Trojans by wielding a terrible sword. Some retreating Greeks are slain, but the rest plunge into the trench, and climb up and out behind the

Wall. The Trojans follow; but this time Apollo bids Hector order his horsemen to drive the chariots over, and undertakes to smooth the way in front. Hector does so, and down charges the whole array with a frightful din, Apollo in front of them kicking the dyke within the ditch, and wrecking the Wall like a castle of sand. And so the Trojans are safely over, and burst like a wave at the sterns of the ships. At the moment of their assault upon the Wall, Patroclus leaves the tent of Eurypylus, whose wounds he has been curing, and goes to inform Achilles of the state of affairs and urge him to fight. Meantime the Greeks are mounted on their ships, and try to prevent the Trojans getting in among the ships and huts with long poles shod with bronze. Neither side gains or gives an inch; and the strict tension of the fight, with the Greeks in a line along the tops of the vessels, and the Trojans in a line along the bottom, is compared in an accurate simile to that of a cord which a carpenter employs to produce a straight edge in planing off a ship's plank. Hector goes straight for the ship on which Ajax stands, and neither can repulse the other, but Ajax slays Caletor, the cousin of Hector, who is bringing a firebrand. Hector thereupon exhorts the Trojans, and Ajax exhorts the Greeks. The Trojans spring at the ships like ravening lions. Hector, roused by Zeus, who knows that his end is approaching, rages like a fire in a forest, making a bold attempt to break the ranks.

Then three moments are distinctly marked by three successive similes, which illustrate the phrases *μένον ἔμπεδον* and *ἐδαΐζετο θυμός* and *θεσπεσίως ἐφόβηθεν*, which themselves denote the successive effects of Hector's fury on the Greeks: they stand firm, they waver, they fly in stupid terror. Hector is delayed for a minute by killing Periphetes, son of Copreus, and the Greeks rally behind the first rank of ships, before the first row of huts. Nestor implores them to stand fast; Athene restores them to their senses; and so they take cognizance of Hector and his comrades, both those in the rear and those right up at the ships. Then Ajax, the first to recover his full power of action, rushes forward and remounts the decks of the ships. He strides across the gaps, like a rider of four horses at a show, wielding a huge pike and yelling to his comrades to save the ships and huts. Hector on his side dashes forward from the Trojan throng; the rest close up about the chiefs; and again the battle is joined. At this moment of renewed equilibrium the poet gives us the sentiments on either side, the Greek despair of final safety, the Trojan hopes of burning the ships and slaying the Greeks. And there the canto ends. With the opening of the next, Hector lays his hand on the ship of Protesilaus.

Such I conceive to be the true outline of this exciting passage of arms. It is a terrific rush on the part of the Trojans, headed by Apollo, which is only

arrested at the ships; then a moment of sudden panic on the part of the Greeks, caused by the irresistible rage of Hector, urged on by Zeus; then an instant of delay, during which Athene dispels the blindness of their terror, and the situation is retrieved by the steadiness of Ajax. But it is wretchedly disfigured by the intrusion of four episodes of 25 verses, of 14 verses, of 67 verses, and of 77 verses each, which in all make up 183; the remaining 2 verses I leave for the present. The first comes shortly after Hector has been revived by Apollo, and before Apollo has begun waving his aegis in order to paralyse the Greeks. It is composed of a panegyric of Thoas, a very subordinate person, and a piece of advice on his part, to draw off the main body of the warriors to the ships, while the leaders stand still to cover their retreat. The chiefs are said to assent, and the troops to withdraw to the ships. But in the very next paragraph we are told that the Greeks remained all massed together, and made a stout resistance, until Apollo began waving his aegis. Dr. Leaf says in his introduction: "The speech of Thoas, 281–305, is full of difficulties, which are pointed out in the notes. . . . It is not easy to see what was the reason of the interpolation, unless it may have been desired for local or family reasons to bring in the curious eulogy on Thoas, who at once disappears from the scene, together with his futile tactical advice." Again at 281: "The authenticity of the following passage, to 305, is very

doubtful. The plan of sending the troops to the rear (295–299) at a moment when it would seem that every nerve should be strained to defend the wall is quite inexplicable. Besides, ἀολλέες (312), λαός (319), and the similes in 323 clearly show that the host of the Achaians is in the passage immediately following regarded as still united. The phrase used in 284 is not Homeric. The omission of the *F* of Fεκάστου (288) cannot be remedied by conjecture, and ἀνώξομεν (295) is a doubtful form." The 25 verses 281–305 I should excise.

The second passage is 367–380, when the Greeks stop at the ships, and Nestor is said to uplift a prayer to Zeus, which Zeus, paying heed to the old man, the son of Neleus, answers with a loud peal of thunder. And what is the result? "But the Trojans, when they heard the thunder of Zeus, rushed with all the greater fury on the Greeks, and recollected their might." Little wonder that Dr. Leaf goes on: "The omen of the thunder, too, seems to miss its mark and produce the opposite effect to that intended." And he has other objections to the passage, with which I need not weary the reader. The 14 verses go out with absolute ease, they forestall the appearance of Nestor later on, and only interrupt the Trojan rush.

And now we come to another highly suspicious episode. The Greeks are massed in close columns on the ships, a formation naturally imposed on them

by the configuration of space at the sterns. The Trojans are beneath, at such a distance as may be measured by the length of pikes shod with bronze, which are raised to keep them off. The tension is strict; and Hector and Ajax are almost hand to hand. Ajax slays Caletor, the cousin of Hector; and Hector thereupon exhorts the Trojans to save his body, lest the Greeks strip it of its arms. He himself slays Lycophron, the squire of Ajax; and Ajax thereupon invites Teucer to avenge their common friend. And now the whole strain of the fight is relaxed as if by magic, in order to make room for Teucer and his arrows. Teucer is said to run up and stand close beside his brother Ajax, with his bow and quiver in his hands. His arrows play merrily among the Trojans, and he manages to hit Cleitus at this range, but quite misses Hector, thanks to Zeus, who breaks his bowstring and knocks the bow out of his hand. Ajax mildly advises him to let his bow alone and take to his spear. Teucer withdraws to his tent to fetch his helmet, shield, and spear, though he seems to have had them all with him at XII 371–372, where Pandion has to carry his bow, and at XIII 170–181, where he kills Imbrius with his spear; and again runs up and stands beside his brother. Hector, encouraged by the failure of Teucer's archery, again exhorts the Trojans; and all things are back where they were before, much as if Teucer and his arrows had never appeared.

This episode I believe to be spurious, chiefly because it halts between two conflicting conceptions; that of a fight at close quarters from the ships, and that of a fight at long range upon the plain. There could be no room for Teucer to run about so freely as he is said to do, in the dense situation of the Greeks, without giving the Trojans just the opening that they want. And if so uncertain a missile as an arrow were used at this short distance, in preference to a javelin or spear or pike, which are much more certain and effectual weapons, yet the presence of an unarmed archer is absurd; for he would be slaughtered off in an instant by the cast of a spear, as befalls the panoplied Caletor. Then, near about the point where Teucer comes in, there is an inconsistency with another part of the poem. At verse 437 Ajax says to his brother, "My Teucer, our trusty comrade Lycophron is slain, whom we honoured like to our dear parents"; which is always taken to imply that the parents of Ajax and Teucer are the same. For there is no distributive word to mark the difference, but the dual is used to unite the brothers more closely. But Ajax was a legitimate son of Telamon, and Teucer a bastard, as is stated in Book VIII 284; and the mother of one was Eriboea, but of the other Hesione. So that the little episode designed for the glory of Teucer, of whom we heard quite enough for his importance in the Eighth Book, is probably false. And now the question

is where to fix the limits of this interpolation. I believe that the beginning falls within the first exhortation of Hector, on seeing his cousin Caletor slain, and the end within his second exhortation, after the failure of Teucer's archery; and that the latter part of the last should be joined to the former part of the first, following on after verse 426 with the words ἀλλὰ μάχεσθ' ἐπὶ νηυσὶν ἀολλέες in verse 494, instead of ἀλλ' νἷα Κλυτίοιο σαώσετε. What Hector says, on seeing his cousin slain, I take to be this: "Trojans and Lycians and Dardanians, do not yet give way in this terrible strait, but fight all together up to the ships; and whoever of you is wounded or struck to the death, there let him die! It is no disgrace for a man to die in defending his country; but his wife and his children will be safe hereafter, and his house and his heritage stand unimpaired, if the Greeks be got back to their own native land." You see how Hector is justified in giving this severe admonition to the rest by the fact that his own cousin is the first to suffer by it. And it fits in very well with his previous announcement, in verses 347–351, that he will kill on the spot any man whom he sees going aside to pick up the spoils, instead of pressing hastily on to the ships. What the interpolator makes him say is just the reverse: "Do not yet give way in this terrible strait, but save the corpse of Caletor, lest the Greeks strip off his armour amongst the ships"; an action of

which there could be no likelihood at present, for it is expressly stated that Caletor falls down below. He thus perverts the supreme patriotic aim of Hector into a project of selfish and secondary interest, and so passes on to the episode of Teucer. This I consider to be depravation of the original poet's idea; and the 67 verses that lie between the first and second ἀλλά I should cashier.

Our last large passage is 515–591. This is not so bad a passage in itself, but is fairly described by Dr. Leaf as "rather commonplace and entirely without significance in the story." But the fatal objection to it, in its present context, is that it is an ordinary fight on level ground, which contradicts the whole situation. The Greeks are conceived as a line of armed men posted before the ships. There are the regular front rank fighters, with the heroes who spring out before the front rank, and then retire after doing execution; which in the situation before imagined would bring them toppling off the sterns. And there is stripping off of armour, an action forbidden on pain of death by Hector on the Trojan side, and impossible for reasons of urgency and position on the Greek. Then we are occupied with a totally new band of minor heroes, Otus, Dolops, Croesmus, and Melanippus, who are killed off without any preparation. But if the reader will take the pains to follow the fortunes of the lesser heroes from the Twelfth Book down to this point in the Fifteenth

he will find that they are hardly ever killed without some little introduction higher up. I verily believe that the only men in the whole of this stretch who are brought in and killed at once, if we except Harpalion, are that same Peisander over whom Menelaus uttered his striking speech, and Caletor, the cousin of Hector; both which cases are excused by the interest, not of the men themselves, but of that which their deaths occasion. And just at the point where these new worthies come on, new difficulties arise. For Schedius, the leader of the Phocians slain by Hector, is in the very first verse called the son of Perimedes, whereas in Book II 518 he is called the son of Iphitus, if the same man be meant, as at first seems not unlikely. And yet he cannot be the same man, for Schedius, son of Iphitus, is slain by Hector at XVII 306; so that either the Catalogue is deficient of this second Schedius, which is improbable if he was a genuine leader of Phocians, or else the present passage is spurious. And here again Meges is evidently a leader of Epeians, as in the spurious passage excised from Book XIII. Cut out the whole of this contradictory episode, and the narrative goes far better. For after the stirring address of Hector has been met by an equally stirring address of Ajax, instead of this somewhat tame and tedious fight, the Trojans spring like lions at the ships; a comparison which shows that the old position is now correctly conceived,

with the Greeks above and the Trojans below, and all is clear to the end of the canto. And Dr. Leaf is of much the same opinion as myself, though he has not the same motive as myself for holding it.

Now as to our remaining 2 verses I confess that I am exceedingly doubtful; but I am inclined to single out verses 504–505 in the exhortation of Ajax. For if the reader will look at them, he will see that they have some appearance of being an alternative to the two which succeed, both pairs being couched in the form of a sarcastic rhetorical question, either of which would do just as well if the other were away. But there is this difference, that the second distich leads on directly to what follows, whereas the first is left without development. Then the first couplet contains an immedicable violation of the digamma in ἕκαστος. And the sense of it is this: "Do you expect, if Hector destroys the ships, to return on foot each to his native land?" But this so much resembles the saying of Telemachus in the Odyssey, "For I suppose that you have not come to this island on foot," as to create a suspicion of its being more humorous than the present crisis admits, and of its having been put in by somebody who liked the joke, and who saw a chance of repeating it. Fick goes so far as to call the couplet "absurd."

But almost every other verse in this much challenged portion of the Fifteenth Book I would most stubbornly defend. And I say so, because there

are two short passages toward the end of the canto, which it seems to me that Dr. Leaf and Dr. Hentze surrender far too readily to the objections of the Alexandrian scholars, whose imagination was not always in a measure with their acumen. The first of them is 610–614, where Dr. Leaf says that the addition of Ἕκτορος is quite needless. But not so, when Hector fighting is distinguished from Hector's tossing helm, as cause from effect, much as in I 46–47 the moving Apollo is distinguished from the rattling quiver on Apollo's shoulders. Then he says that Zeus is on Ida, not ἐν αἰθέρι. But is not the top of Ida ἐν αἰθέρι too? Again he says that μοῦνον ἐόντα is a strange expression, as Hector has his whole army with him. But to these words the poet joins πλεόνεσσι μετ' ἀνδράσι and τίμα καὶ κύδαινε, and the special point is that, although Hector has his whole army with him, yet Zeus reserves the glory of firing the ships to this one single man among them all. Finally he says that the prophecy in 613 is against the usual practice, and that it is a departure from the accepted theology to make Athene carry out the work of fate. What is here termed a prophecy is the statement that Hector's hour of death was drawing nigh, at the hands of the son of Peleus, brought about by Pallas Athene; which is the reason why Zeus gave him so much honour in the present. But I deny that the poet does not often state things by anticipation; for he does it again and again, in instances too numerous

to mention. And whatever the accepted theology may be, certain it is that Athene brings about the death of Hector at the close; so that here is a departure from it too. And the verses are defended by the letter M itself, which unites them in one music with the context.

The other passage is 668–673, where Athene is said to disperse the *νέφος ἀχλύος θεσπέσιον* from the eyes of the Greeks. Now if the phrase be taken to mean a darkening of the sky, or an atmospheric mist, or anything else of the sort, as the Alexandrian critics took it, it is certainly surprising, for no such thing has been described as coming on. But it is the hebetude of vision caused by mortal terror, as the words *ἀπ' ὀφθαλμῶν* sufficiently show; and it corresponds with our metaphor of a blind panic. And the same thing is shown by *θεσπέσιον*, which connects the phrase directly with *θεσπεσίως ἐφόβηθεν* in verse 637, and intimates that the man is no longer master of himself, but is the sport of an instinct too powerful for his will to control. So in Book V 127 Athene removes the mortal hebetude (*ἀχλὺν*) from Diomede's eyes, whereby he is enabled to behold those that are immortal. And so in Book XX 321–342 Poseidon sheds on Achilles' eyes a marvellous mist (*ἀχλὺν θεσπεσίην*), that he may not see Aeneas swept away, and then disperses it again. And the word *φράσσαντο*, "marked," signifies of itself that they have come to their senses out of the dazed con-

dition that they were in before. And it all fits in with the permission of Zeus at VIII 35–40, that Athene may influence the minds of the Greeks, though she must not herself take part in the fight: which answers an objection recorded by the Scholiast, that Athene is not present owing to the threat of Zeus; for a mental operation may be done at a distance, as we learn from XV 242 and XVI 103. And as to the last two verses, they seem to be merely misconstrued. For they are made to refer to the Greeks, part of whom stand aloof in the rear, and part right up at the ships; which of course contradicts verse 638, where we hear that they fled one and all. But they refer to the comrades of Hector, part of whom stand up beside their leader, and part of whom stand off behind for want of room; as the order of words alone declares. And when the poet applies the same word *ἀφέστασαν* to the Greeks, as he does in the next paragraph, he is careful to specify their name. And having applied the word to each in turn, he applies the words *ἐφέστασαν ἀλλήλοισιν* to both at verse 703, when the fury of the combat is renewed. And so much for Canto XXVII.

Canto XXVIII extends down to Book XVI 256, which is the moment when Achilles, having offered up a solemn prayer for the safety of Patroclus and poured a libation to Zeus, takes his stand before the tent to survey the progress of the fight. The pause is not well marked in the Teubner text, which

puts a colon only here; but is well marked by Mr. Monro, who closes the sentence with a full stop after this verse, and opens a new paragraph with the next; as though an instinct taught him that here the Prowess of Patroclus begins. On the other hand, Dr. Hentze has the advantage at the commencement of the canto, where he opens with a new paragraph, while Mr. Monro has only the full stop. The canto, which is chiefly taken up with the interview of Achilles and Patroclus, and the mustering of the Myrmidons, has exactly 300 lines; which makes us some amends for the long time we tarried on the last.

The Patrocleia occupies the rest of the Sixteenth Book, and contains 611 lines. The pause we place after verse 562, which leaves 306 verses on one side and 305 on the other. This is the moment when the career of Patroclus has been crowned by the slaying of Sarpedon, and both sides brace themselves afresh at the prospect of a struggle over his body. The remainder of the book is occupied with the final exploits of Patroclus down to his death at the hands of Hector and Apollo. Now beginning in due order with Canto XXIX, we meet with a verse which all texts bracket. It is 381, which describes the horses of Achilles as immortal, and as given to Peleus by the gods. It is repeated in the last line of the book, whence it has been inserted here to correct a slight ambiguity between the Trojan

horses and those of Achilles, which Patroclus uses; but many manuscripts omit it altogether. The other 5 verses I take to be 367–371. For they contain a plain contradiction of one 4 lines higher up, in which we were told that Hector, although he knew the tide of battle had turned, yet stood his ground and sought to save his comrades. But here we are told that Hector's horses swept himself and his armour swiftly away, so that he forsook the Trojan host that was checked by the deep trench; which is quite unlike his character. Then it is difficult to see why the footmen are impeded by the trench, when Hector and his horses get so quickly over; and this overlooks all about Apollo's filling up the trench. And in the very first words there is a strange expression, where it is said that they did not cross back κατὰ μοῖραν, which is meant for κατὰ κόσμον, but is not so used elsewhere. And in the very last words there occurs a monstrous violation of the digamma in ἅρματ' ἀνάκτων, of which there is no probable cure. I should therefore put a period after φόβος τε in verse 366, and drop these lines, which make no difference. But I do not consider the preceding simile obscure, as it appears to Dr. Leaf; for the shrieking and flight of the Trojans are aptly compared to a howling tempest that invades a sky serene.

So now we come to Canto XXX, which has 5 lines over our limit. But two pair of these are

already marked out for us by brackets in all the texts. The first pair is 614–615, which say that the spear of Aeneas spent its force by quivering in the ground, after it had left his hand in vain. But it is repeated from XIII 504–505, and much the same thing has been told us in the verse above; and a vast majority of manuscripts omit the lines. The second is 689–690, of which I suppress the sense, for here they have none, but are copied from XVII 177–178. So much for 4 of our 5 verses. Now at verse 736, in the combat of Hector and Patroclus, we are told that Patroclus seized up a stone and hurled it with all his weight, *οὐδὲ δὴν ἄζετο φωτός*, which cannot be construed. For *ἄζομαι* always governs an accusative, and expresses a sense of religious awe, so that Dr. Leaf makes it mean that Patroclus did not long stand in awe of Apollo because of Hector; which is very forced and obscure, there being no mention of Apollo in the sentence. Nor is the conjecture of *χάζετο* much better, for it ought to mean that he did not long withdraw from his man; which is absurd, when Patroclus has been rushing at Hector for 3 lines past. And it does not appear that either of these senses makes a proper opposition to the words that come next. If we could correct *δὴν ἄζετο* into something which would import "nor did he hit his man," then *οὐδ' ἀλίωσε βέλος* would follow very well; for he misses Hector, but hits Cebriones his charioteer. But I do

not see how this can be done, and incline to think that the phrase is false. But the first part of the verse, *ἦκε δ' ἐρεισάμενος*, seems to be sound. Again it is doubtful whether *οὐδ' ἁλίωσε βέλος* is a correct expression. You can talk of frustrating the intention of Zeus, as is done in Odyss. V 104 and 138 *Διὸς νόον ἁλιῶσαι*. And a man may frustrate his own word, by not doing as he said, as in Sophocl. Trach. 258, *κοὐχ ἡλίωσε τοὔπος*. But how a man can be said to frustrate his own shot, when the stone has left his hand, is not so clear. I should therefore be disposed to join the first part of the one verse on to the last part of the other,

ἦκε δ' ἐρεισάμενος, βάλε δ' Ἕκτορος ἡνιοχῆα,

leaving out what lies between. But I am not quite satisfied with this; and perhaps somebody will be able to clear up these difficulties and to point out a still more objectionable line. And so, with the death of Patroclus, we finish off another third part of the Iliad.

CHAPTER III

BOOK THE SEVENTEENTH TO BOOK THE TWENTY-FOURTH

The opening of Canto XXXI coincides with that of the Seventeenth Book, and here begins the Prowess of Menelaus; some little delay being interposed between the death of Patroclus and the carrying of the news to Achilles. The break we find at verse 455, which seems a long way off. But it is surely a strange thing that you can go on from ἦρχε δ' ἄρ' Ἕκτωρ in 107 to the self-same words in 262, which makes exactly 155 lines, and discover an excellent pause at the verse said above. For with it Zeus concludes his famous speech to the ageless and deathless horses of Achilles; and off they move at the beginning of the next canto, with Automedon behind them, whose business occupies us some little while after. And the excluded verses are so full of difficulties that one hardly knows where to strike in. But, to make an effort, there are three matters which about this point the poet asks his hearers to understand, without express mention, though he has sufficiently intimated them all. The first thing is that Hector

now wears the arms of Achilles, worn by Patroclus. This was intimated at Book XVI 799–800, where it was said that Zeus gave him at that time to wear on his head the helmet of Achilles, but his death was nigh at hand; and Hector might easily put it on, together with the rest of the arms, somewhere between Book XVII 274, where the Trojans repulse the Greeks from the corpse of Patroclus, and XVII 450, where Zeus says that he has them, or again XVII 473, where he is explicitly said to have them on. But before the verse first named, as I conceive the matter, he could hardly have done so; for he is engaged in pursuing the immortal horses, and meanwhile at XVII 13 the spoils, though possibly not the helmet, are regarded as still lying near by the body of Patroclus. The second thing left to us to gather is the reason why the Trojans struggle with the Greeks to possess the unarmed body of Patroclus. But it is sufficiently implied by touching on the glory of the thing itself at XVII 287, and on the value of the body to Achilles at XVII 104 and elsewhere, and we may imagine that it would command a very fair ransom if carried safe to Troy. And the third thing is the withdrawal of Menelaus in quest of Ajax, to help him in recovering the body of Patroclus; which is conveyed by the words of Menelaus himself at XVII 102–105, but is not explicitly described, because

the poet has to describe a similar withdrawal later on, in quest of Antilochus, who is to carry the news to Achilles. And there he does it at length, using the simile of the lion, which we came across in treating of the Eleventh Book; but here he marks his absence by a short and successful dash of the Trojans at XVII 263–277, until the Greeks are rallied by Ajax at 278, which shows that Menelaus has found his man, whose influence now begins to tell. Well, these three things the interpolator explains at large in the 155 verses; and in each case he has involved both himself and us in difficulties by doing it.

We will begin, as he begins, with the last. At verse 108 he describes the withdrawal of Menelaus and his meeting with Ajax, when the first invites the last to proffer the corpse of Patroclus to Achilles, since it is all that they can do, now that Hector has his arms. Very good. But then, in the next paragraph, we are told that when Hector has stripped Patroclus of his arms, he drags his body; which ought to have come first, if it came at all, before the departure of Menelaus, so that Menelaus could know for certain that Hector had the arms. But it ought not to come at all, for Patroclus was divested of all his armour long ago by Apollo, at the time of his slaying by Hector in the last book; and without reclothing a corpse you cannot strip it twice. And again

at verse 205 of this spurious passage Zeus is made to say that Hector took the arms from the head and the shoulders of Patroclus, which was all done by Apollo in Book XVI; from the head at verse 793, and from the shoulders at verse 802, as our faithful editor notes.

Well, Hector having taken off the arms, as here supposed, gives them to his comrades to carry away to Troy. Then follows an unpleasant scene between Glaucus and himself, in which Glaucus, using some uncouth and unparalleled phrases, calls him a coward, warns him that the Lycians have no interest in the war, upbraids him for abandoning the body of Sarpedon to the Greeks, threatens the departure of the Lycian troops, and enlarges on the advantage of bringing the body of Patroclus into Troy, in order to effect an exchange with the body and the arms of Sarpedon. This was designed to meet the second thing understood, why they should struggle for the naked body of Patroclus; notwithstanding the fact that Sarpedon's corpse was rescued at Book XVI 678–683 by Apollo, at the bidding of Zeus, and long ago despatched to Lycia by the hands of Sleep and Death; which if Glaucus could not be expected to know, yet it is silly of the author to try to arouse our interest about a project which, as we foresee, can never be accomplished. And the whole tone of this speech quite spoils the delightful character

of Glaucus; nor is it very fit to be spoken to Hector, who has slain the man who slew Sarpedon.

However, Hector rudely defends himself, and bids Glaucus stand at his side and watch whether he is a coward or not. And then what happens? But here the words of an ancient critic are better than mine. "One would have expected," says the Scholiast, "that after being so taken aback by the utterance, and so moved at the incident, he would abide by his own professions. But he forgets the words he has used himself, and overlooks the taunts, and turns to tricking himself out"; which refers to the fact that, instead of entering the battle, the thought occurs to him to leave the field and apparel himself in those same arms which, even before the stinging taunt of Glaucus, he was quite content to send away to Troy. This was intended to meet the first thing understood, that Hector wears the arms. As he puts them on, Zeus makes a speech about him, which weakly anticipates part of his speech to the horses, and then nods (as Dr. Leaf observes) all to himself. Hector reappears for a moment to the renowned allies, shining in the arms of Achilles; and after all the long rigmarole about the donning of the armour, not a word is said of its effect on Greek or Trojan. And the mighty strength, which Zeus is made to say that he will bestow on him, melts into nothing; for the Greeks succeed in drawing off the body of Patroclus after all.

There never was such nonsense as the whole of this passage contains, and it has oddities of diction all the way through, with which I do not trouble the reader, but which are faithfully recorded by Dr. Leaf. But just to mark the latter end of the interpolation, there is a bad violation of the digamma in οὐνόματ' εἶποι of verse 260, and one in ἕκαστος at 252. And its lapses disgust the reader at the outset with what is in the sequel one of the most glorious struggles in the whole of the Iliad, waged about the body of Patroclus. There is only one thing that I regret in cutting out these 155 lines, and not so much on my own account as that of another. We cut out the simile in 133–137, where Ajax is compared to a lion whom huntsmen meet leading along his cubs, who glares in his strength and draws down all the skin of his forehead, covering up his eyes; which the late Sir Richard Jebb thought perhaps the finest of Homeric similes drawn from the lion, though the ancients found it false to nature, because it is the lioness, and not the lion, who leads the cubs along. And there is another simile borrowed from the lion in Book XX 164–175, which has been thought the finest Homeric simile of all. Hitherto we have happened to include within our scheme most of the fine and famous things in Homer, except the popular tales which are of a totally different type; but the cut is too clear, from ἦρχε to ἦρχε, to permit this simile to stay.

And it may comfort us to find that our excision ends immediately before the simile of a river meeting with the sea, which caused Solon or else Plato to burn his poems in despair.

Now the results of this imposthume wake in one a pain. For instead of its being excised as inconsistent with other things in the Iliad, other things in the Iliad have been questioned as inconsistent with it. As Hector here strips off the armour, which is not consistent with Apollo's doing it before, it has been argued that the whole notion of Patroclus wearing and losing the arms of Achilles was no part of the original poet's scheme, but was invented by another hand, in order to introduce the episode of the Forging of the Armour; and so would disappear the Shield of Achilles, and much else, if by any means it could be detached. But the reticence of the poet about Hector putting on the arms of Achilles, and the little that is said about his wearing them, though enough is said for the purpose in hand, is of course designed so as not to interfere with the effect of the celestial suit of armour shortly to come. The case is much the same as with the Building of the Wall; which being not consistent with what is said about the Wall elsewhere, the entire existence of the Wall itself in the original scheme has been denied. But again, of two inconsistent things, it is only necessary to do away with one; and here that one which ought to be struck

out is the stripping of Patroclus by Hector, and not the stripping by Apollo, which magnifies our notion of Patroclus, and belonged to the original poet's plan, and was by him designed to bring about the Forging of the Armour.

We proceed to Canto XXXII, which terminates at the end of the book, and has now 306 lines. There is a spurious verse at 585, which is omitted by several manuscripts, was unknown to Zenodotus and Aristonicus, and which all texts bracket. It says that Apollo addressed such an one in the likeness of such an one, and is a mere repetition of 326. The remaining 5 verses I take to be 612–616, which cause such a complication of the sentence in which they occur, that modern editors are obliged to put dashes on either side to clear up the tangle; and how an ancient reader may have been expected to cross safely through it I cannot conceive. What happens is that Hector hurls a javelin at Idomeneus, who stands in a chariot, but narrowly misses him and hits Coeranus, the squire and charioteer of Meriones, who followed his master from Lyctus. Then it proceeds, "For he came at first on foot, when he left the ships, and would have bestowed a great victory upon the Trojans, had not Coeranus quickly driven up his swift horses, and come as a light to him, and averted the day of his despair, though he lost his own life at the hands of Hector." From the latter part of this sentence it appears that the

subject of the main clause is neither Coeranus nor Meriones, but Idomeneus, which is very difficult. And how Coeranus could defend his life by driving up his horses, when Idomeneus already stands upon the car, as appears by the narrow miss and verse 622, which show that the chariot of Idomeneus and Meriones is one and the same, nobody can imagine. These verses are as clearly spurious as if they had come down to us enclosed in a rectangle.

Canto XXXIII, which opens with the first verse of the Eighteenth Book, we close at verse 313. The news of Patroclus' death is brought to Achilles, who moans aloud in anguish. His mother hears him in the depths of the sea, and wails amid all the assembled Nereids. She visits her son, and promises to fetch a new suit of armour from Hephaestus. Iris is sent by Hera to press Achilles to show himself over the trench; for though the Greeks have succeeded in bearing off the body of Patroclus, they are hotly pursued by Hector and the Trojans, who would have plucked it back, the poet tells us, had not Hera taken this step. Achilles thrice shrieks across the trench, and the Trojans fly in terror. Night falls, and the Trojans hold an assembly on the plain, too frightened even to sit down; and with its close the canto closes too. It will not delay us long. The catalogue of Nereids goes out in 11 lines, beginning and end as plain as sun and moon at verses 39 and 49, and suspected by every

scholar. The remaining 2 verses are as clear to me as they are to Dr. Leaf. They are 200–201, in the speech of Iris to Achilles, which are repeated from XI 800–801 owing to the similarity of the verse above in either case, and some resemblance in the circumstances. Iris here urges Achilles, as Nestor urged Patroclus there, to show himself in the field, that the Trojans may abstain from fighting and the Greeks recover breath, though brief the breath in war. "They are not in place here," says Dr. Leaf; "Achilles is not to be roused into action by any sympathy for the weariness of the Greeks, but only by the desire to save his friend's body"; which was the one motive used by Iris in her former speech.

Canto XXXIV concludes with the close of Book XVIII. It first lightly touches on the supper of the Trojans, a thing the poet likes to mark; opposes to them the Greeks, who spend the night in mourning for Patroclus; and then passes on to Olympus and the Forging of the Armour. This makes 304 lines. Now toward the end of the description of the Shield of Achilles there are 4 verses which present a great difficulty. They are 603–606, which relate that a mighty throng stood round the lovely dance, delighting in it; and among them an inspired minstrel was singing to his harp; and two tumblers over against them, while he led off the song and dance, whirled in their midst. The last three verses are repeated word for word in Odyssey IV 17–19,

where Menelaus gives a wedding feast to his neighbours and kinsmen; and I am convinced that they belong to that place, and have nothing to do with this, but carry the fourth verse along with them. For in the first place the sentence about the minstrel does not appear in any of our manuscripts, but was inserted by Wolf from Athenaeus, who blames Aristarchus for striking it out; which is a censure rather improbable in itself, for Aristarchus was very cautious about striking verses out, though he stigmatised them freely as spurious. And this evidence is cancelled by the further statement of Athenaeus, that the same critic inserted the sentence in the Odyssey; for any objection that Aristarchus might have felt to it here, which seems to have been the use of μέλπεσθαι for making music, attaches to it with equal force in the other place. So that instead of being struck out of the text by Aristarchus, the sentence most probably never was in it; being left behind, when the rest was repeated from the Odyssey, as ill suited to the first verse about the great throng; which itself replaced the neighbours and kinsmen of the Odyssean line, it being wanted to provide spectators for the tumblers. But a minstrel in the middle of a mighty throng, intent on other things, is apt to harp in vain. And if we insert the sentence with Wolf, we are compelled to alter ἐξάρχοντες to ἐξάρχοντος in the next; since it is absurd that the minstrel should be singing, yet that the tumblers

should lead off the song. So that it is not a simple insertion, but requires a change of the text in defiance of all the manuscripts; and there is no hint of a variant to help us here.

But now, if this sentence is left out, the rest of the passage does not run very well. For then the tumblers are said to lead off the song and dance, which to anyone who has seen a tumbler at his tricks must seem a thing well-nigh impossible. And here the observation of Athenaeus seems perfectly just, that by the omission of the minstrel the word ἐξάρχοντες becomes an incurable blot, though he was mistaken in imputing that defect to Aristarchus. But if we concede to Aristarchus that μολπή never means music in Homer, but only sport, which is very doubtful, yet it is still far from clear to whom the tumblers give the lead. For the frolic of the tumblers and the dance of the youths and maidens seem two totally disparate things; and if they are not, then the leaders ought to have been mentioned a dozen lines above, before the dance begins. And the whole picture is confused, though in the Odyssey it is all clear. For there the guests sit round the hall, and among them a minstrel plays; and over against them, in their midst, the tumblers freely whirl. But here the floor is occupied by the dance of youths and maidens, who at one time go round in a ring; and if the tumblers were in their midst, they could not well be seen by the mighty

throng. But at other times the youths and maidens advance in rows to meet each other; and what becomes of the tumblers at this crisis it is not easy to say. The compartment is too crowded, with the dance and the mighty throng and the tumblers, not to mention the minstrel, and should be left to the dancers alone; and this can be done by leaving out the 4 lines, and then 300 remain.

The beginning and end of Canto XXXV I regard as coincident with those of the Nineteenth Book, which has 424 lines. And here I admit that there may be some doubt about the precise application of our doctrine, but not about the doctrine itself, or about the limits of the canto; for there is both an excellent pause at the end of the book and a crowd of objectionable matter in between. But I confess that at this juncture I use the theory rather more freely as an independent test, to fix the exact limits of this undesirable matter, instead of using it at once to corroborate and derive corroboration from existing grounds of suspicion. The canto begins with the new morning and the return of Thetis, who brings the new armour to her son; proceeds with the public renouncement of his wrath; and concludes with his arming and the famous prophecy by the horse Xanthus of his master's coming doom. First of all there is a verse which, as it appears, must certainly be excised. It is verse 77, which says that Agamemnon addressed the assembly from his seat, just where

he was, without standing up in the midst. The curious thing about the verse is that none of our manuscripts omit it, though Zenodotus did so, and it is not wholly clear why it was ever put in; and it seems at first sight to be strongly defended by the stress which is laid on Agamemnon's wound 25 lines higher up. But the fatal objection to it is that it makes nonsense of his very first words. "Agamemnon," as Dr. Leaf remarks, "is mortified and hampered by the loud applause called forth by Achilles' speech." He therefore begins with a brief protest, in which he says that it is only fair to listen to the man who is on his legs, and not to interrupt, which puts an orator out, and makes both hearing and speaking difficult. The word ἑσταότος, which he uses, plainly implies that he himself is standing up. We must suppose that the stress laid on the wound accounts solely for the fact that Agamemnon is the last of all the kings to enter the assembly, which is itself expressed in emphatic terms; and indeed it is striking, when he is the chief person interested, though at the same time one can almost feel the pause of hushed expectation until the second party to the quarrel appears. But our interpolator, ill displeased with this, made him not only the last to enter, but also to speak sitting down; an unlucky addition, for Agamemnon's wound was in the arm, and would not hinder at all his standing up, though it might prevent him moving about very quickly. But

to conclude, the verse is one of the few which have good manuscript authority and which yet are rejected by Mr. Monro; and most other texts do the same.

Now we continue with Agamemnon's speech. When I admitted above that the legend of Heracles was somewhat copious in Homer, I never bargained for so big a dose as this. For here he goes on for 42 lines about him, verses 95–136, during which we must needs forget the feverish impatience of Achilles, and take leave of the whole situation, and fly away to Thebes at first, and next to Olympus, and thence to Argos, and up again to Olympus, and after this wide circuit descend with Ate to the same point from which we set out. But attend to Dr. Leaf: "95–136. This long episode, which the last few lines (from 88 or 90) are designed to introduce, has all the appearance of having been worked into the story from an independent *Herakleia*. It is needless to point out how unsuitable such a digression is at this point; though indeed many speakers with a bad case take refuge in telling stories.—It will be seen that the doings and even the very words of the gods are narrated by an actor in the story; elsewhere they are told only by the poet himself, who knows them of course by direct inspiration. This no doubt was the case in the original *Herakleia*." So that our excision, up to this point, tallies very closely with the faults found by scholars

after all. But observe that Dr. Leaf concedes that many speakers with a bad case take refuge in telling stories. Yes, and Agamemnon does it too, but does it at reasonable length, in the little allegory of Ate which comes just before the long account of Heracles. He actually calls it τοῦτον μῦθον, "this parable," and says that he has heard a good deal of it in the last few days. I cannot admit that the verses in which it is told were designed to introduce the tale of Heracles. For it is too like the allegory of the Prayers in the speech of Phoenix, and the allegory of the Casks in the speech of Achilles at XXIV 527–533, to let us doubt that their author was the same; and I regard them all three as thoroughly Homeric. "Awful is Ate the daughter of Zeus," quoth the king, "who blinds the wits of all, woe worth her! And hers are tender feet; for she draws not nigh upon the ground, but she marches over heads of men, hampering all mankind—well, at least there is one other whom she has pinioned down (meaning Achilles as well as himself). But since I have been blinded, and Zeus took from me my senses, I am willing to make friends again and pay a priceless recompense." Now the word ἕτερον in verse 94, by which the king in self-excuse glances at the other party to the quarrel, is taken by the interpolator in quite a different way. "For once upon a time she blinded also Zeus, who is said to be the best of men as well as gods";

which is next to nonsense, but was forced upon him by the emphatic *ἀνθρώπους* in Agamemnon's speech, with which Zeus was somehow to be joined before he could come in ; though the real poet meant the very opposite, that Ate the daughter of Zeus was a plague peculiar to mankind. So this fixes the first line of the interpolation, and the last line fixes itself.

Well, Agamemnon finishes off his speech of 25 lines instead of 67, and Achilles makes a short reply, in which he says that he is indifferent whether he is to get gifts or not, but is very earnest about getting to work on the Trojans at once. Then Odysseus dissuades him from urging the Greeks to fight without breaking their fast, and bids him grant them time to do so, while Agamemnon is to bring the gifts before them all, that Achilles may be gratified by the public exhibition of so magnificent a recompense. He next turns to Agamemnon, and in a few brief words says that he has lost no dignity by doing the right thing, and will know the better in future how to treat his subject kings. And here, if I mistake not, this stage of the transaction was wisely closed by Odysseus going directly for the gifts to Agamemnon's tent, as he is now made to do 54 lines lower down at verse 238. But between these two limits there lies another speech of Agamemnon, which is very flat, another speech of Achilles, which is very good, and another speech of Odysseus, which is better still. And I suspect that the flat speech was put together

to connect with the context the other two, which were composed apart by a real poet, whoever he was, and incorporated here. For good though these speeches are in themselves, they have in their present context this sad defect, that they prolong beyond endurance the debate as to whether Achilles and the rest are to have their breakfast or not, before they begin to fight. This is the matter which has caused the most crying offence to readers of the book, and it provokes the ridicule of Dr. Leaf. The last two would do very well if the first were away; for they contain in themselves about as much of this subject as we can stand, but are intolerable when added on to the other. But the other two are also good in themselves, with one exception to which we shall return, and cannot be detached without causing incoherence; whereas these will go out with facility. Then, as I have stated, the words which close the first speech of Odysseus have every appearance of winding up the scene between Agamemnon and Achilles, where shortest surely is best. And I think that most readers will detect at once in the second speech of Odysseus, although not perhaps in that of Achilles, a marked difference of style, which chiefly consists in a love of pithy sententious sayings, most happily expressed; a fact to which I draw the reader's attention, if he has not noted it before, because I believe that we shall meet with this author again.

But now let us examine the interpolation a little more closely. If the reader follows on at once from verse 183 to verse 238, he will see that there was given an opening here. For Odysseus, after suggesting that Agamemnon should produce the gifts, very sensibly joins to himself the sons of Nestor and goes off to fetch them without delay from Agamemnon's tent: a liberty that he was entitled to take, firstly because of the king's readiness expressed in verses 140–144 to produce the gifts either directly or later on, whichever were most agreeable to Achilles, a matter which Odysseus has argued in his speech and now settles by his action; and next, because Odysseus himself had been commissioned to offer these gifts to Achilles at the time of the Embassy, a fact which is also mentioned by the king in the same passage, and which is as good as a hint to Odysseus. And again we may recall the propensity of Odysseus to act without waiting for others, which miscarried before at the time of the Embassy, but here suceeeds, so that the poet now makes him amends. All this is so clearly understood that it does not need to be expressed. Then the gifts are produced, and Talthybius brings a goat to sacrifice, and Agamemnon takes an oath that he has never known Briseis; all which is despatched without previous order to Talthybius to bring the goat, or intention here expressed of taking the oath, for the simple reason that the ceremony of

the oath bears a near resemblance to that of Book III 103–120, where Talthybius performs the same function; while his willingness to take the oath has been avowed by Agamemnon at Book IX 132–134; so that these things also could be understood without repeating them thrice. And last of all the elders gather around Achilles and entreat him to join them at table; but it is not said where, for we know from VII 313 and IX 90 that their high repasts are regularly held in Agamemnon's tent.

Now from these several delinquencies of the poet has been constructed that bald and bare address of Agamemnon, as well as another short passage, to which we shall recur. There he names Odysseus as the very man to bring the gifts, and there he commands Talthybius to bring the goat; and so is found an excuse for another reply of Achilles to Agamemnon, and another reply of Odysseus to Achilles, which may be the motive of the whole. There is nothing inconsistent in Agamemnon's speech, although it has some oddities, but it is almost prose when it is not made up from what follows; and at this point I place the beginning of the interpolation which, as all will admit, gives us far too much about eating and drinking. Well, now let us turn to the first speech of Odysseus and fix our attention on verses 175–180. There he suggests that Agamemnon should take the oath, and there he suggests that the king should feast Achilles

in his tent; which completes the circle, and causes all these subjects to be repeated thrice. But this passage, unlike the other, offers something definite to lay hold on. For the couplet 176–177 is repeated from IX 275–276 in a purely mechanical manner, as is shown by the way of mentioning HER bed, the pronoun, as Dr. Leaf says, "having no reference, as Briseis has not been named or even remotely alluded to; whereas in I she is the subject of the preceding line." And this couplet carries the verse above along with it. And the next verse is omitted from many manuscripts, and is bracketed in all the texts. Then in the last verse of the six there is a very strange use of the adjective ἐπιδευές, which seems to be used for an abstract substantive meaning "deficiency." So that I believe these 6 verses to be false; and if we leave them out, the words of Odysseus addressed to Achilles will end with ἰανθῆς, and those addressed to Agamemnon with χαλεπήνῃ, which is a small but elegant point.

And how stand we now with respect to our numbers? The sum of our excision hitherto is $1+42+6+54=103$; which leaves us to find 21 lines before we have reduced 424 to 300. But there can be little doubt where we are to look for them. The lament of Briseis for Patroclus sounds a fine sort of thing until you come to read it with care. There is perhaps no very obvious reason why Briseis and the other captive women

should weep for him at all. For when in Book XVIII 28–31 the female slaves shriek out and beat their breasts, it is at the sight of Achilles collapsed in the dust and tearing his hair, and not at the news of Patroclus' death, of which they have not heard. And in the nightlong mourning for Patroclus at XVIII 314–355 the Greeks and Myrmidons take part, but the women not at all; which is no more than natural. But here the lament of Briseis proceeds on the extravagant supposition that Patroclus had promised to legitimate her union with Achilles, and console her for the loss of her former husband, by making her the wife of the very man who slew him; on which Dr. Leaf remarks, "The idea of a marriage between Achilles and a captive is alien not only to the rest of the *Iliad* but to all the manners of the heroic age." And as for the other women, who bear the burden, they are brought in by saying that all of them made moan for Patroclus as a pretext, but each for the sorrows of themselves; a point which has been much admired, despite the note of insincerity it strikes, but one which I hold with Heyne to display a penetration alien to the genius of our poet. Consider how the real poet does it. The elders gather round Achilles, who makes a pathetic speech, in which he refers to his aged father Peleus and his infant son Neoptolemus, for whom he had hoped that Patroclus

would live on, since he himself is destined to die at Troy. "So spake he weeping, and the old men mourned as well, remembering what each had left behind him in his halls"; which rings sincere and true. And to give a notion of the linguistic character of the lament, take this note of Dr. Leaf's. "Apart from the question of style and other difficulties, it contains many non-Epic expressions; ἰκέλη for *Fικέλη*, σε ἔλειπον with *hiatus illicitus*, εἶδον (292) which cannot be resolved into ἔϜιδον, ἑκάστη for *Fεκάστη*. πρόφασιν, 302, is also doubtful. Tearing the skin (285) is not elsewhere found as a sign of grief; heroic mourners do not go farther than tearing the hair. But this may possibly be meant for a 'barbarian' custom." The remark about tearing the skin I do not adopt, as it seems to conflict with II 700 and XI 393; but there is surely enough without it. And all this within the compass of the 21 verses 282–302, which may be removed with ease, so leaving 300 behind.

And here for the second time we part company from Mr. Monro by retaining the 4 verses 365–368, which he has enclosed in brackets. But this time again it is a question not of manuscript authority but of taste; for all the manuscripts present them. They describe the teeth of Achilles as rattling, and his eyes as blazing like a fire, and his heart as being filled with intolerable anguish; and how

in bitter rage against the Trojans he put on the gifts of the god, which were wrought by the labour of Hephaestus. I think them myself a little overstrained, but not to be expunged. The doubt upon the point is illustrated by what is told of Aristarchus, that he first affixed his spits, but afterwards took them away, considering the nature of the hero's noise poetical. Perhaps the poet was somewhat at a loss to complete the triacosiad; and Dr. Leaf defends the lines from the charge of being grotesque on the ground of barbaric grandeur.

And now, to give the reader rest, let us pass over for the present the Twentieth Book, and go on to verse 526 of the Twenty-first. There, with the words ἑστήκει δ' ὁ γέρων Πρίαμος, begins the episode known as the Slaying of Hector, which is continued down to the close of the Twenty-second Book; for at the verse aforesaid the scene is cleared by the return of all the gods to Olympus except Apollo, who enters sacred Ilios anxious for the safety of her wall. The first part of the episode is composed of the hurried flight of the Trojans into Troy before the terrible Achilles, who is arrested by a combat with Agenor, and diverted by Apollo in Agenor's form; the heroic resolve of Hector to withstand Achilles before the walls; its shattering at his awful enemy's approach, and his pursuit by Achilles. The second part con-

sists of the slaying of Hector and the wailing for his death. The whole passage is very nearly perfect, as all admit, and it contains 601 lines. The odd verse is stigmatised by brackets in all the texts. It is XXII 121, which is omitted by several manuscripts, is repeated from XVIII 512, and makes a tautology here. The tercentenary break comes after XXII 215, just before the words of Athene to Achilles, which mark the beginning of the end. It is a curious pause; for we might have expected it to come 2 verses higher up, where Apollo leaves the side of Hector; after which Athene, despatched from Olympus by Zeus, takes her stand by the side of Achilles. But I think that we can guess what the poet's intention was. He has told us just above how Hector's fate settled down in the scale, and so he throws the two verses into the previous canto as a sort of final ounce, thus overshooting slightly the even division of the incident, to adapt his artistic form more close to the facts described. Then follows as it were an universal hush, and at last the solemn but triumphant words of Athene break upon the ear. She begins with the impressive phrase *νῦν δὴ νῶϊ γ' ἔολπα*, which reminds us that the moment foretold in Book XV 613–614 has at length arrived, when Hector is to meet his death at the hands of the son of Peleus, brought to pass by Pallas Athene. The dual is used to mark the strict

alliance of the pair henceforth, as Athene's approach to Achilles was subjoined to the desertion of Hector by Apollo before the pause to emphasize the solitude of Hector. And let us add, that as no man who had heard the first part of this episode could depart without hearing the last, so the poet might be less careful to assign a distinct point where the recitation could be broken off, and might take a slight liberty with his usual pause for the sake of artistic effect. What precedes and follows the division we call Canto XXXIX and Canto XL.

We go next to the Funeral Games for Patroclus, which, with all that introduces and closes the episode, embrace the whole of the Twenty-third Book and terminate at verse 21 of the Twenty-fourth. Their figure is 918 lines. The 18 verses 629–646 are those which I exclude; and perhaps by now the reader will be satisfied without further argument, when he hears that they contain a reminiscence of Nestor, that they begin with *εἴθ' ὡς ἠβώοιμι*, that the end is clearly marked by the *καὶ* in verse 646, and that they make not the slightest difference to the context on either side. I will only quote the words of Dr. Leaf, that the couplet 639–640 "defies interpretation"; so we seem to be lucky in losing it. And now for the two tercentenary pauses. They descend of course after verse 300 and after verse 600 of Book XXIII. The first falls just before Anti-

lochus enters as the fourth competitor in the chariot race. The reason of his separation from the three others is that he is privileged to receive from his father Nestor a long lecture on artful driving, which results in his securing a second place with poor horses, but involves him in a quarrel with the competitor whom he outwits. He mollifies the excited Menelaus by resigning the prize, and the canto ends with a simile which describes the soothing effect of the generous act. During this second pause we may suppose the last ebullitions of Menelaus' irritation to subside; for when he resumes, with the beginning of the next canto, he is calm. The pauses here again are lighter than usual, although quite distinct, the three cantos being meant to go together. They are XLI and XLII and XLIII.

After the gay, the grave once more. At verse 22 of Book XXIV begins the episode entitled the Ransom of Hector, the first part of which closes at verse 321, making exactly 300 lines. It is the moment before Priam issues from the town of Troy on his perilous visit to Achilles, just after Zeus in response to his prayer has sent an eagle on the right, which comforts and rejoices the souls of the trembling watchers. This is Canto XLIV.

But now what are we to do? For here we are left with 483 lines to the end of the poem. I will disclose the secret at once. First remove the spurious verse 790, which many manuscripts omit, which is

thrice repeated in the Odyssey, and which all texts bracket or reject. Next remove the little apologue of Niobe that Achilles tells to Priam in verses 602–620. Lastly remove whatever is said about Hermes, and you will have removed most of the Odyssean character which has so often been felt to belong to this book, and will have exactly 300 lines left. Perhaps I may be given leave to state that this was the canto which finally convinced me of the truth of our theory. For as a mere coincidence it seemed to me incredible that you could detach these three things in their entirety, without breaking into the rest, and find yourself left with exactly 300 lines, all of them coherent, while at the same time many puzzling problems disappeared. But it was also the canto which cost me the most trouble to determine, though it is simpler in itself than some of the others. For having left behind at first the less straightforward cases, and having come along so smoothly through the last six cantos, I was suddenly brought up against this ultimate stretch of the story, which at all events must be reduced, or else the theory would fail. It was therefore my first experience of one of the more complicated cases of interpolation; but after it had yielded, I felt more confidence in dealing with the rest, because it gave me a distinct idea both of the lengths and of the limits to which such work could go.

About the tale of Niobe there is not much to be

said. It is beautifully told in 16 verses, with 3 more to bring us back to our muttons. But the speech of Achilles surely ends with his words in verse 601, *νῦν δὲ μνησώμεθα δόρπου*, "but NOW let us think about supper," after which he cannot without impropriety go on for another 20 lines, but ought to suit the action to the word at once by killing his sheep at verse 621. Nor is the legend of Niobe found anywhere else in Homer. The case of Hermes, however, requires some care, and it will usefully serve to introduce the reader to the more complicated cases hitherto postponed. I assume that he has his text of Homer at hand; and if he will be so good as to follow my direction, while I point out how this episode can be detached, he may possibly feel an inclination to smile both at the ingenuity with which it has been woven in and at the facility with which it can again be disengaged. He was another real poet who devised this insertion, and he has done his work with more art than the rest. Well, let the reader put one bracket before verse 322, either in his mind or upon his page, and another after verse 348. He will thus enclose two paragraphs, in the first of which Hermes is sent by Zeus, while the second conveys him to Troy. Now he will notice that the first contains a direct contradiction of the paragraph above it, which closed the canto before. For here it is stated in verses 327–328 that Priam was pursued by all his friends deplor-

ing him much, as if he were rushing to his death; but there it is stated in verses 320–321 that as soon as Zeus had sent the omen of the eagle they rejoiced, and the spirit of all was comforted within them. So dangerous a thing it is for a man, poet though he be, to meddle with another man's conception; and this author's miscarriage at the outset affords a fair presumption that we ourselves are right in what we are setting about.

And now let us leave in the next 2¼ verses, 349–351 down to *ἐν ποταμῷ*, which bring Priam and Idaeus beyond the Tomb of Ilus, after which they halt the horses and the mules in the river, in order that they may drink; but let us put a bracket before *δὴ γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ κνέφας ἦλυθε γαῖαν.* This was the point chosen by the interpolator for the meeting of Hermes and Priam. And you will see that at this point there is a slight inconsequence; for the further reason why the mules and the horses are halted to drink can hardly be, strictly speaking, because it has also grown dark, which would have made it a matter of some trouble to water them, but because there is also water where they stop. But the object was to account for Priam's going unobserved through the Greek lines, and hence the mention of the darkness. But the circumstance is sufficiently understood from the moment when Priam enters Achilles' tent, where we hear at 475–476 that the master's evening meal is over, though the table is still spread; and up to

that point we know how Priam went safely through, because in verses 153–154 of the last canto Zeus has announced his intention of attaching Hermes to his train. "But what is this?" the reader will ask; "then Hermes appears after all?" No, not appears; for the meaning of Zeus was that he would accompany them invisible, just as it was before proposed in heaven that he should steal away the corpse of Hector. And this is proved by the fact that at verses 182–183 Iris repeats to Priam the words of Zeus, in order to give him courage; and yet, says Dr. Leaf, "he does not mention it to Hekabe, nor does he recognise his guide when he meets him; Hermes has to tell his name at the last moment." Hence some suspect the verses in which Iris informs him of the intention of Zeus. But the better solution is to reject the meeting of Hermes and Priam, which conflicts with them; for it is understood throughout that Hermes is invisible, in perfect keeping with his character, and therefore naught at all is said of him by Priam. But the interpolator makes him take the form of a beautiful youth, so as to work in the scene between Priam and him; on which Dr. Leaf has to say: "It is strange that the description should suit only the youthful Hermes of the great age of Greek art; for in works of the archaic period the god is always represented as bearded." And once more he says on 339–345: "The whole of this passage, with the employment of Hermes as messenger, is

thoroughly Odyssean." But Hermes as the invisible conductor belongs to the Iliad; for so he is called or implied at II 103 and XXI 497. Well, now let us place our second bracket after Ἑρμείας in verse 469. So we get rid of him, as far as the outward journey is concerned; and you will note that the next words, when united with ἐν ποταμῷ in verse 351, make a very musical line.

But this causes the incident to take a different turn, and one which is much more natural. When Priam and Idaeus halt at the stream, Priam leaps down and leaves Idaeus with the horses and the mules, and goes ahead direct to the hut of Achilles. The interview takes place, in which he informs Achilles at 502 and 556 that he is bringing a vast treasure, and implores him to render up the body of Hector. Achilles invites him to sit down, but Priam asks to be let off, so long as Hector's body is still unredeemed. Achilles is nettled, and warns Priam not to provoke him too far, for he is sure that a god must have brought him as a suppliant to the ships, and he would not transgress the will of Zeus. But not a word does the trembling Priam speak to confirm in his auditor this salutary belief; which is strange if he had parted from Hermes just before. Then Achilles, followed by Automedon and Alcimedon, dashes out of doors; they unyoke the horses and mules, and fetch in the herald Idaeus; and they bring the ransom of Hector from the chariot, and

replace it with his corpse. So Priam and Idaeus sup and sleep the night in the vestibule of the building, under the verandah, to avoid inconvenient visitors to Achilles, who sharply hurries them up. This is all quite simple. But in the passage which we bracket it is represented otherwise. Hermes leaps upon the chariot, and drives the mules and horses up to the wall and the trench, where he opens a gate and thrusts aside the bars, and brings Priam and the herald and the ransom all inside; a needless service, since the whole structure was ruined by his brother Apollo long ago. And we may wonder how, if Achilles had chanced to receive Priam with acerbity, the miserable Idaeus and the ransom would have got back safe across the river. Howbeit they advance to the hut of Achilles, of which a brief description is given, from which it appears to be a remarkably massive house. There Hermes deposits Priam and the glorious gifts, advising him in what form to beseech Achilles (a piece of advice which Priam in the sequel quite ignores), reveals his name, and so departs to Olympus; at which point precisely was our second bracket placed. The result is that Priam leaves the herald and the ransom and the live stock standing outside in the court, while the interview takes place within; which again can only be deemed a most precarious situation.

So now we come to the return journey. Let the reader place a bracket before verse 677 and another

after verse 694. By excluding these 18 lines he will exclude all that is said about Hermes, and the paragraph will begin with

Ἠὼς δὲ κροκόπεπλος ἐκίδνατο πᾶσαν ἐπ' αἶαν,

a type of verse that does not often occur between a pair of commas. In this passage we are told that other gods and men slept all night, but that Hermes did not sleep, pondering how to bring Priam back from the ships, eluding the sacred warders of the gate; a matter about which he experienced no trouble before, for he put them all to sleep at verse 445. And the gate again creates a difficulty, although in the genuine verses 566–567 Achilles naturally speaks of the sentinels of the Greek camp, saying that Priam would not have eluded them, nor would easily have heaved back the bar of his own door, without some god to guide him; which, by the way, gave a good chance to the interpolator in verses 453–456 to describe this beam, which required three men to strike it home and three to open it up, though Achilles could do it alone. There it was opened from outside by Hermes in visible form; and we may suppose that the same god's unseen hand assisted Priam with the real bar, not elsewhere described as remarkably heavy. And in the spurious passage it must from the sense belong to the door of the forecourt; but in the true it belongs to the hut itself, for there is no allusion to any such

enclosure except in the spurious verses. And surely it was labour lost to contrive so mighty a barrier for the court, when legs and a ladder would render it vain. For the close stakes which he plants around the court at verse 453 are of little avail, unless some insuperable height is specified, and only show the interpolator's shifts. So that the whole idea of this weighty beam is absurd; for it would give more trouble than ever it was worth. Well, Hermes wakes up Priam, and drives his team as far as the Ford of Scamander, after which he goes away to Olympus; all of which, though not objectionable in itself, can be perfectly well dispensed with, as the reader will see on consulting the text. The purpose here was to get Priam thus far before dawn; but his safety was sufficiently ensured by the care of invisible Hermes, as well as by the promise of Achilles overnight, that he would suspend all hostilities until after Hector's funeral.

We thus obtain our 300 lines. But I must not conceal from the reader that there is a verse which the recent texts seclude, but which it is incumbent on us to retain and defend. It is 558, the last of these four in a speech of Priam to Achilles:

> λῦσον, ἵν' ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἴδω, σὺ δὲ δέξαι ἄποινα
> πολλά, τά τοι φέρομεν· σὺ δὲ τῶνδ' ἀπόναιο, καὶ ἔλθοις
> σὴν ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν, ἐπεί με πρῶτον ἔασας
> αὐτόν τε ζώειν καὶ ὁρᾶν φάος ἠελίοιο.

Some manuscripts omit the verse, and editors agree

to discard it as a mere expletive of ἔασας. But in the first place it appears to have very fair manuscript authority; and, again, it seems to be quite requisite to the sense. For without the verse surely the distinction of σὴν from με, together with the addition of πρῶτον, compels us to supplement ἔασας from ἔλθοις, with the meaning, "may you enjoy these gifts, and may you come to your own native land, since you have first permitted me (to do the same)"; which is absurd, when Priam is standing in his own native land. But if we retain it, with the meaning, "since you have first permitted me myself to live (at the moment) and to behold the light of the sun (hereafter)," there is an excellent point. For it glances at the doom laid upon the youthful warrior, that he never was to return to his native land, but was fated to die at Troy; and the prayer of the grateful old king that it might haply be remitted, in consideration of his mercy for another, could not be more delicately expressed. But without the verse this notion does not arise at all. Dr. Leaf quotes in defence of ἔασας without an infinitive verse 569,

μή σε, γέρον, οὐδ' αὐτὸν ἐνὶ κλισίῃσιν ἐάσω.

Yes, but there is no πρῶτον here, and no possible ambiguity about the meaning. "Do not provoke me," says Achilles, "lest even as you stand within my tent, old man, I let you not alone"; where the

reticence itself adds a terror to the threat. Next he quotes verse 684, which is found in our rejected passage, and of which I will only say that again there is no possible ambiguity. Thirdly, he quotes XVI 731, Δαναοὺς ἔα οὐδ' ἐνάριζεν, where the meaning of ἔα is instantly conveyed by the words which follow it. And lastly he quotes Odyss. IV 743–4, κατάκτανε νηλεῖ χαλκῷ, ἦ ἔα, where the sense of ἔα is instantly conceived from what precedes. The last two instances tend to show that the sense of ἐπεί με πρῶτον ἔασας, unless it is followed by an infinitive, ought to be completed from the context; which if it be the case, the clause by itself is not alone ambiguous but openly absurd.

It is time to go back and direct our attention to that stretch of poetry which extends from the first verse of the Twentieth Book to verse 525 of the Twenty-First. It consists of 1028 lines in all. Now you may try every way to divide up these verses as they stand, but you will not find that two satisfactory pauses can be produced, between which they will lie in three sections of 300 lines, after rejecting passages or particular verses antecedently suspicious. But there is one set of verses which seems to be marked out for the application of our method. It is that which begins at Book XX 176 and continues down to the close of the same book. The anterior limit is the moment when Achilles and Aeneas, whose encounter has already been promoted

by Apollo, come actually face to face. And we may observe that just before the break occurs the long and splendid simile, alluded to above as one of the finest in Homer, in which Achilles is compared to a lion lashing himself to fight, and meditating either to slay some man or to perish in the foremost throng. "It stands out from the context," says Dr. Leaf; a remark which we may convert to our own account by saying that the poet knows how to set off his jewel by placing it before the pause. The posterior limit is the moment when Achilles, in his tremendous onslaught upon the Trojans, arrives at the Ford of Scamander; and here again the poet has summed up the situation in a pair of useful similes. The whole is 328 lines. But there can hardly be the slightest doubt about the odd 28. They are verses 213–240, in which Aeneas retails the long genealogy of the Trojan royal family, setting out with Zeus and going on with Dardanus, Ericthonius, Tros; Ilus and Assaracus and Ganymede, sons of Tros; Laomedon, son of Ilus; Tithonus and Priam and Lampus and Clytius and Hicetaon, the sons of Laomedon; Capys, son of Assaracus, Anchises, Aeneas; and Hector, a son of Priam. And all this solemn deduction of his pedigree takes place in answer to a few bantering words of Achilles, which import that Aeneas was ambitious to sit upon the throne of Troy himself. The tree is introduced by the very same words as were used in tracing the genealogy

of Glaucus in the Sixth Book, "But if indeed you desire to find out about this, that you may perfectly comprehend our lineage, and many men know of it"; and it ends immediately before another verse occurring in the former passage, "Such is the lineage and blood of which I boast that I come," which properly applies to his statement in the genuine verses that his father was Anchises and his mother is Aphrodite, and as worthy a pair as Peleus and Thetis too. I cannot agree with Dr. Leaf, when he avers that in the speech of Achilles there is not one word belonging to the situation; but I do agree with him when he ridicules the lengthy Trojan pedigree, which Aeneas has begun by asserting that Achilles well knows already.

But once again there is a single line which all the recent texts seclude. It is verse 312, and it happens to be of the same nature as the last, being commonly rejected as intended to provide an infinitive for ἐάσῃς in the verse above. It was lucky that we had good grounds for holding on to the other one; for here the manuscript authority is slighter, and there are less forcible links to chain it to the context. But are we not fairly entitled to assume that the same unhappy influence which operated in the former case has operated here, and that the difference of manuscript authority merely measures the different degree of facility with which the line could be done without, when

once the notion of its wrongness was started? The greater the ease with which it could be dropped, the more the copies that would thenceforth omit it; but all the same it may be a perfectly genuine line. Hera says to Poseidon concerning Aeneas, who is highly thought of on both sides of Olympus, "You must consider for yourself, whether you will rescue him, or whether you will leave him

Πηλεΐδῃ Ἀχιλῆι δαμήμεναι, ἐσθλὸν ἐόντα,

to be slain by Achilles, son of Peleus, worthy though he be." Now there is no doubt that we could easily dispense with the infinitive here; for the meaning of ἐάσῃς is amply explained by that of ἐρύσσεαι before it. But neither again is there harm in completing it; and the first three words in a manner revert to Poseidon's phrase Πηλεΐωνι δαμεὶς Ἀϊδόσδε κάτεισι in 294, after which he had digressed a little on the merits of Aeneas. And we may observe that ἐσθλὸν has its correct Homeric sense of useful, serviceable, good for something; which refers to the welcome gifts that Aeneas always gave to the gods, as stated by Poseidon at 299, and accounts for their interest on his behalf. I must frankly confess that had it suited my purpose to leave out the line, I should have done so without scruple; but since the opposite is the case, I am predisposed to defend it. And perhaps our criterion, if once it is established, will lend its

support to this innocent line. This is Canto XXXVII.

Now deducting 328 from 1028, we are left with 700 lines, of which 175 come before the canto last determined, while 525 follow after it; these being the residual portions of Book XX and Book XXI respectively. I am about to invite the reader to take a Napoleonic step, vast but simple. If he look at the title of the Twentieth Book, he will see that it is inscribed as Theomachia or the Battle of the Gods. But he will look in vain for any such battle in the book itself; for it does not begin till the next. Nor is it a mere example of misnomer, but affects the artistic course of the narrative. These are the words of Dr. Leaf: "There is in Φ a real battle of the gods; but all that we have here is a bombastic introduction (1–74) which leads to nothing whatever, and is in quite ludicrous contradiction to the peaceful mood of 133 ff. It is likely enough that the prologue here really belongs to the battle in Φ; for Φ 385 or 387 might follow on Υ 74 with much gain to the significance of 55–74." With the main objection urged I fully agree. It is ludicrous that Zeus should remove his veto on the intervention of the gods, and awake incessant war; the gods go forth to battle, and range themselves against each other, and encourage the mortal combatants; grievous strife break out among themselves; Zeus thunder

horribly from on high, Poseidon from below shake the tops of the mountains, and Hades tremble lower still at the conflict coming on; and then that the whole heavenly host should quietly go and sit down in two bodies, one around Poseidon and Hera at the wall of Heracles, and the other around Apollo and Ares upon the brows of Callicolone; where they remain sitting peacefully throughout the space of 732 verses, and at length begin the battle for no particular reason at XXI 385. But instead of inferring that the prologue here really belongs to the battle in XXI, I infer that the battle in XXI really belongs to the prologue here. For consider what Dr. Leaf says himself in his introduction to Book XXI: "The Theomachy (385–513) is one of the very few passages in the *Iliad* which can be pronounced poetically bad. Unlike the really Homeric episodes, it does not come at a break in the main story, but interrupts meaninglessly Achilles' career of vengeance. In place of the imposing conflict of the divine powers which we were led to expect at the beginning of Υ, we are presented only with a ridiculous harlequinade, having no reference to the story, poverty-stricken in expression, and owing what little interest it has to the reminiscences of the wounding of Aphrodite in E, on which it is doubtless founded . . . . It is noteworthy, however, that the episode is remarkably free from linguistic

offences, such as 'violations of the digamma' and other signs of late composition. The author of it must have had an accurate sense of the old Epic language." I should not exactly term the Theomachy a ridiculous harlequinade, nor its prologue a bombastic introduction; but the latter is perhaps a little overwrought, and the former is couched in a lighter vein. And yet, perverse as it may seem, I regard it as an instance of sound judgment in our author. For he was aware that he could describe no effects at all adequate to a conflict of divinities, but that each successive stroke could only prescribe a limit to their powers. He therefore withholds the greater gods, Poseidon and Apollo, from the fray; grants the greater goddesses, Athene and Hera, an easy victory; makes the throes of nature as terrific as he can; but dissolves the whole in laughter, and interposes this humorous episode as a sort of relief before the tragic climax of his story. And perhaps there are few phrases in the poem more stupendous than *ἀμφὶ δὲ σάλπιγξεν μέγας οὐρανός*, or the one next before it, *βράχε δ' εὐρεῖα χθών*, in which you can almost hear the wide earth creaking with the weight of these heavenly combatants; not to speak of the freedom from linguistic offence which Dr. Leaf allows.

But on the main point I agree with him again. In its present position the Theomachy meaninglessly interrupts Achilles' career of vengeance, and ought

to come before it. And the place where it ought to come is waiting ready for it at verse 155 of Book XX, shortly before the career of Achilles is opened by the gradual approach of himself and Aeneas, during which the poet depicts his hero's gait in the long and elaborate simile with which the canto closes. Interpose the whole Theomachia in XXI 385–514 between verses 155 and 156 of Book XX, and watch how the narrative runs. Poseidon and other gods, *θεοὶ ἄλλοι* in XX 149, sit down at the wall of Heracles; while others sit opposite, around Apollo and Ares, on the brows of Callicolone. But among yet other gods, *ἐν δ' ἄλλοισι θεοῖσιν* in XXI 385, strife fell with heavy weight. The whole universe rings. Zeus sitting on Olympus hears it and laughs, when he looks on gods engaging in war. Then those others no longer stood aloof; for Ares led them on. He singles out Athene from the opposite side; and so the battle is fairly joined. Now surely the connection and contrast of *θεοὶ ἄλλοι* with *ἄλλοισι θεοῖσιν*, together with the reference of *οἵ γε* in XXI 391 to *οἱ* in XX 151, superadded to the fact that such a transposition can be made without a jar, is sufficient proof that originally the one passage followed directly on the other. And the careful distinction of the gods who commence the fray from those who sit about Poseidon and Apollo produces a very good point; for so it often happens that when insignificant ones begin to quarrel,

their betters are apt to be drawn into it too. Well, now let us come to the other end. The battle goes blithely on, until Hera chastises Artemis, who proceeds to Olympus and complains to Zeus of her stepmother's conduct. The interview closes with the familiar verse ὣς οἱ μὲν τοιαῦτα: and here, but for the subsequent fight of Achilles with the River, which leads on to the fight of the River with Hephaestus, the Battle of the Gods is brought to an end. Then we return to the mortal actors, who have all this while been marshalling around their respective chieftains, at XX 156 τῶν δ' ἅπαν ἐπλήσθη πεδίον . . . ἀνδρῶν ἠδ' ἵππων. Achilles and Aeneas advance into the middle, as arranged by Apollo before the Battle of the Gods began; the canto closes with the simile so often noticed; and with the beginning of the next the two champions fall to work, marking the exact moment at which the triumphant career of Achilles begins. Nothing could be more coherent, nothing better subordinated, or more cunningly contrived.

And now what is the numerical result of this transposition? There are 155 verses before the Theomachia, which itself contains 130, and is followed by 20 to the end of the canto; making 305 in all. Two of these verses are enclosed in brackets in all the texts. The first is XX 135, which many manuscripts omit, and which is repeated from VIII 211, owing to the similarity of the verse

above. The second is XXI 510, in the Theomachia itself, which is omitted by a large majority of manuscripts, and is identical with V 374, where it follows on the wounding of Aphrodite, as here on the chastisement of Artemis. As to the remaining three, the conclusion is irresistible. They are the 3 verses XX 153–155, which were put in to delay the Theomachia to a later stage: "So sat they on each side devising their plans; but both sides shrank from beginning the war, though Zeus sitting on high was urging them on." They form a little paragraph all by themselves, as marked in the text of Mr. Monro. Even if we keep them in, the narrative would cohere as suggested above. But I do not think that there are three other verses that can equally well be done without; and they delay the connection of ἄλλοι and ἄλλοισιν a little too long. Then again, though I have tried to give the most natural meaning to Ζεὺς δ' ἥμενος ὕψι κέλευε, yet it is not wholly correct. For it ought to mean that Zeus was commanding them to fight; which if he could command, when seated on Olympus, yet it fails of its effect, for they begin for a different reason. But Dr. Hentze and Dr. Leaf think it ought to mean, "And Zeus sitting on high was supreme over them"; which may be even more correct, but is still more irrelevant. So that the verses are not without a difficulty in themselves. Now if anyone should ask how the dislocation of the Theomachia came about, the cause

I take to be this. The poet, as we saw, finished off the battle with a scene in Olympus, before the career of Achilles began. But he could not explicitly state that it was over, because he wished to restart it with Hephaestus and Scamander, when the River tries to overwhelm Achilles. But the diasceuast, so to call him, had the misery to ask himself what the gods were imagined to be doing, if their fighting was stopped, during the first part of Achilles' career; to which the true answer is, that anyone who could turn his attention from that exciting theme might think whatever he liked. But not content with this, he made the gods sit devising their plans during half of Achilles' career, and kept them sitting there until the Fight with the River, and then at length brought in the Theomachia; so that to solve his own silly problem he raised another far worse. So much for Canto XXXVI.

The next canto, which embraces the career of Achilles till he reaches the Ford of Xanthus or Scamander, we have already settled; and now we have to deal with Canto XXXVIII, which begins with the beginning of Book XXI and extends down to verse 525. But we have taken out the Theomachia in the 130 verses 385–514, and are therefore left with 395 lines. Are there 95 verses which would be better away? I hold that there are exactly that number. First of all let us despatch the spurious verse 158, which many manuscripts omit, and which

all the texts enclose. It says that the river Axius sends forth the fairest water of all upon the earth, repeating II 850 in the Trojan Catalogue, which we cut out before. But it does not suit in either place, and caused great difficulty in antiquity; for, as Dr. Leaf informs us, "it is and always was, apparently, a very dirty stream." We are now left with 94 lines; but it is surely a strange thing that you can go on from *αὐτὰρ ὁ βῆ* in verse 205 to *αὐτὰρ ὁ βῆ* in verse 299, which makes 94 lines, and get rid of some grave perplexities by doing so. And here let us interpose a few words about the topography of the Troad, as it is conceived by the author of the Iliad. The two distinctive features of the scene are the Greek camp, resting on the Hellespont to the north-west, and the town of Troy, reposing on an eminence at the foot of Mount Ida to the south-east. South and north therefore, roughly speaking, face the foes. Between them is the Trojan Plain, the middle point of which is marked by the great Tomb of Ilus, as stated at XI 167. Let us start from the Scaean gates of Troy and advance beyond the Tomb, as Priam and Idaeus did at XXIV 349, and we come to the Ford of Scamander, whither Hector was carried back from the ships when wounded by Ajax at XIV 433. The river is imagined as flowing across the plain, which it divides into two unequal parts, the wider toward Troy and the narrower toward the camp; after which it sweeps round to the north, along the western side

of the plain, and flows into the sea somewhere about the ships of Achilles, past the right of the Greek camp. About the bend, as it would seem, it is joined by the river Simois, where Hera and Athene, coming from Olympus, halted their steeds on the first day of battle at V 774. We may say, for simplicity's sake, that the Scaean Gates, the Tomb of Ilus, the Ford of Scamander, and the Ship of Odysseus lie in one straight line north and south; though the name might import that the Scaean gates lie somewhat to the left of it, being balanced by some other gates on the right. How far this supposition fits the real facts, so well described by Dr. Leaf in his recent book about Troy, we do not at present inquire.

Well, Achilles first drives the Trojans across the narrower portion of the plain, between the ships and the river, until they come to the Ford. There he cuts them into two parts, scaring half of them over the Ford to what is called by eminence the Plain, being the larger width of it, whence they fly to the city; while the other half he catches on the Greek side, huddled up in the bend of the river. They plunge into the stream; he lays his spear on the bank and leaps in after them with his sword alone, hewing right and left until he is tired. Thence he takes out alive twelve Trojan youths to be sacrificed to Patroclus, binds them, and hands them over to his comrades to convey to the ships. Then he darts

back again, no doubt this time by the Ford, for he carries with him his weighty spear. He meets Lycaon escaping out of the river, slays him, and pitches his body back into the current, adding some contemptuous words which infuriate the River, already angered by the havoc in his stream. As he faces the river, Asteropaeus escaping from it also meets him, is slain, and left lying on the sand. Achilles proceeds to the Plain; but the wrathful River, resolved to stop his course, swells the tide and floods the ground, calling on his brother Simois to do the same. The flood is described, and Achilles is almost swept away, when Hera rouses Hephaestus to burn up the stream with fire. The fight of the elements is described, until Scamander pleads with Hera for mercy, who thereupon restrains Hephaestus. Then Apollo enters into Troy; the rest of the gods depart to Olympus; and Achilles continues on his way to the city, dealing death as he goes. And here follows next the Slaying of Hector.

This is all quite simple and coherent; but there are two small matters which might alarm an uninstructed reader. At verse 298, where we resume after the interpolation, it is said that Achilles proceeded to the Plain, because a behest of the gods did mightily urge him on. Now in the interpolated passage a suggestion of this sort is made to him by Poseidon at verse 293; and it looks as if by cutting it out we should destroy the reference of the phrase,

although the behest, if it can be so called, is not urged by the gods but enjoined by Poseidon alone. But if the reader will turn to Book XV 593 he will learn that this is a general phrase, meaning only that it was the will of heaven that he should continue his career of vengeance. For there it is stated that the Trojans, when attacking the ships, were performing the behest of Zeus; on which Dr. Leaf comments, "The charge which Zeus has laid upon them, not in direct words, but in his own counsel, as is explained by what follows." What there follows is that Zeus aroused a mighty strength within them; and what follows here is that Athene put a mighty strength into Achilles. So that the one passage will bear out the other in all respects, and there is no need for the behest to be directly given. The other small point is this, that by removing the Theomachia and going on from verse 384 to verse 515, we shall hit on the word *αὐτὰρ* thrice in the same paragraph, at 383 and 515 and 520; which might offend our ears. But it marks the three successive stages in clearing the scene for the Slaying of Hector; first the cessation of the Fight with the River; next the departure of the gods; and then the return to Achilles. So that the repetition of the adverb is strong and distinct, instead of weak or careless.

Well, now to deal with the interpolation itself. It states that, after slaying Asteropaeus, Achilles went on to pursue the Paeonians; which is not

much amiss in itself, for they may be presumed to be near their leader Asteropaeus, although it strikes Dr. Leaf as strange that nothing has been said of them before. Then, according to this author, the River assumes a human form and bids Achilles slay the Trojans upon the Plain, if he must, instead of damming up the stream with their corpses. Achilles promises so to do, and dashes after the Trojans. The River reproaches Apollo for abandoning the Trojans, but Apollo vouchsafes no reply, and appears in fact to be nowhere near at hand. Then to our astonishment Achilles, supposed to be pursuing the Trojans to the town, is said to leap into the stream, which swells up high and all but drowns him. He escapes on the roots of an elm, but is pursued by the River over the Plain, a chase which is very well described, but which anticipates the future description of the rising stream. Achilles is again nearly drowned, when Poseidon and Athene in human form catch him each by a hand and confirm him—how? With words; after which they depart to join the other gods. Here the interpolation ends, and the genuine poet resumes with the flooding of the Plain, and we have much the same thing over again, except that at the close the divine intervention is effectual; for Hera sends Hephaestus to burn up the stream with fire. One part is a repetition or expansion of the other by

somebody who wanted more of this attractive episode. I will end by quoting the words of Dr. Leaf: "It is however in the Fight with the River, from which the book takes its name, that we find the real crux. As to the wild grandeur of this splendid scene there cannot be two opinions. Yet our complete enjoyment is somewhat marred by a want of clearness in the motives, which may be focussed at two points. The first of these is at the beginning, 211–27, where Skamandros bids Achilles, if he must slay the Trojans, to slay them on the plain; and Achilles replies 'it shall be done as thou biddest, but I will not stop till I have driven them to the city.' So far all is simple; we imagine that Achilles, true to his promise, has left the river and attacked the fleeing Trojans in the plain; if the narrative continued with 540 we could not find anything to object to. But instead of this we first have a passionate appeal from the River to Apollo (228–32), and then to our surprise find that Achilles, instead of carrying out his promise, leaps into the middle of the stream (233). This undoubtedly contradicts the plain sense of what has gone before." And again about the other difficulty: "In 284 Poseidon and Athene come to Achilles' aid. But they confine themselves to empty promises. They tell Achilles that the River 'will soon assuage,' and up to 304 we seem to see Achilles in a fair way to escape.

But in 305, instead of assuaging, Skamandros grows 'still more wroth,' and all but overwhelms the hero, till Hera herself, evidently ignorant of her friends' intervention, is 'sore afraid' for Achilles (328), and takes the practical step which the others have so unaccountably omitted." These inconsistencies are removed by going on from one *αὐτὰρ ὁ βῆ* to the other, which gives us exactly our 300 lines. And so we finish off the last third part of the Iliad.

CHAPTER IV

BOOK THE SECOND, BOOK THE FIRST, AND CONCLUSION

It only remains to deal with the first part of the Second Book, that is, Canto III. This is a canto about which I am not most doubtful myself, but am most doubtful about convincing the reader, as it is not easy to explain its original form, in so clear a way that he can grasp its constitution, without reprinting the text. I have therefore left over its statement to the last, that it may derive as much strength as possible from all that precede it. There are 483 lines down to the commencement of the Catalogue, with which our Canto IV began; but the reader will perhaps recollect that we transferred the 29 verses 455–483, which contain the six similes on end, from their position before the Catalogue to a better one after it, which leaves us to deal with 454. The difficulties of the first portion of the book are only too well known; and Dr. Leaf does not go beyond the mark in calling it "this wonderful medley of inconsistent and self-contradictory motives." The inconsequence centres in the conduct of Agamemnon.

A baleful dream is sent to him by Zeus, bidding him arm his host with all haste, for the gods are agreed to let the town of Troy be taken at once; a passage, by the way, which throws a doubt on Mr. Monro's objection to VIII 550–552, spoken of above, that there is no sign of any such agreement among the Olympian gods.

Well, Agamemnon awakes, clothes himself in a soft tunic, and at dawn commands the heralds to summon an assembly of the Greeks. But first of all he holds a privy council of the chiefs near Nestor's ship, at which he communicates his dream; repeating almost the same words as are used to describe the incident itself, but adding four verses of his own, in which he proposes arming the Greeks, but first "to tempt them with words, as is right," and command them to fly with the ships, while the other chiefs are to check them with words, one on one side and one on another. Nestor rises and remarks, that had any other Greek but Agamemnon mentioned the dream, they would disbelieve him, and proposes arming the Greeks; with which the council ends. Well, the Greeks assemble, and up gets Agamemnon with his famous sceptre in his hand, and informs them that Zeus has utterly disappointed him, and orders him to return inglorious to Greece, since he has lost much people; using word for word the same 8 verses as he uses in Book IX 18–25, after the first defeat of

the Greeks. He then goes on to state how discreditable it is that such and so plentiful a people of the Greeks should fight in vain against the Trojans, who are less than a tenth part of their number; while their wives and children have been nine years awaiting them at home, and their ships and ropes have rotted away, and still their end is unattained. He concludes by suggesting that they should fly with the ships to their own native land, for they will never take the town of Troy; which 3 verses again he repeats word for word in IX 26–28, after the first Greek defeat. We are told that he stirred the spirit of all amid the crowd, as many as had not heard of the council. The whole multitude is shaken; they rush shouting to the ships, and prepare to draw them down. Athene descends from Olympus, and tells Odysseus to stop them. Odysseus, accepting the suggestion as a divine monition, takes the sceptre from Agamemnon's hand. Whenever he comes across a royal and eminent man, he uses persuasion, among other things asking whether all have not heard what the king has said in council, or else saying that all have not heard it; for verse 194 is construed either way, and creates a difficulty in both: either that the council was unusually large, which is not likely at so short a notice; or else that Agamemnon was not distinctly heard, which is improbable if it was as small as usual. But when he finds a common

man, he beats him with the sceptre, and advises him to sit quiet and listen to others, saying that a multitude of rulers is a bad thing; there ought to be but one king, but one ruler, and he the man appointed by Zeus. And so they are brought back to the assembly again, where all sit down except Thersites, who could never stop talking, and who now reviles Agamemnon to the secret indignation of the Greeks, and ends by suggesting the very same thing as the king had suggested before, that they should all go home with the ships, saving only that they should leave Agamemnon at Troy. But Odysseus soon settles him, amid general applause, with a stroke of the sceptre. Then up arises Odysseus himself, and delivers a lengthy speech, in which he reproves the Greeks for failing in allegiance to their king; reminds them of the omen of the serpent and nine sparrows, which he declares to have been witnessed yesterday or the day before, when the ships were assembling at Aulis; and concludes by exhorting them all to remain until they have taken the town of Priam. Then Nestor follows, with words to the like effect, but ends by advising Agamemnon to separate the troops by tribes and clans, that he may judge who is a bad leader and who is a good. Agamemnon rejoins with a spirited speech, after which they all disperse and take their morning meal. The great king offers sacrifice to Zeus, and invites the greater chiefs to

partake of it, which all of them do. Nestor recommends no further delay, and an order is issued to recommence the war.

Such is the extraordinary train of events springing out of the dream despatched by Zeus. The reader will ask at once why Agamemnon, with that divine assurance, should want to try the temper of his people at all. Next, the result turning out as it does, why none of the chiefs in council have a word to say either for or against, not even Nestor, who speaks to his other proposal of arming the Greeks. Thirdly, why Agamemnon, in his speech to the assembly, should insist on the disgrace of having failed in their object, and then suggest a step which is not only far more disgraceful in itself, but makes success impossible. Fourthly, why he should point out the fact that the ships are rotten, at the very moment when he is suggesting, "what is only right," that they should use them. Fifthly, why not one of the chiefs stirs a finger to stop them, until Athene tells Odysseus to do the very thing that it was seemingly reserved for all the chiefs to do; and why it needs an injunction of the goddess to put it into the head of Odysseus. Sixthly, why the men of royal birth, whoever they may be, are involved in the scandal. Seventhly, why the vulgar are reproved for setting up as kings, when they have as good as obeyed a command of Agamemnon. Eighthly, why Thersites, who could never stop talking, has not a word to say

until the second assembly; and why he, the meanest of all the Greeks, is made to propose the same measure as the noblest of all, Agamemnon; and why the Greeks, who heard it with approval a short time before, are so greatly delighted when Thersites is set down. Ninthly, why the omen of the serpent and the sparrows is regarded as so recently seen, when it took place nine years ago at Aulis. Lastly, why Nestor's advice to separate the people into tribes and clans, in order that the merits of the leaders may be known, is considered as accepted, when the leaders never observe the rule throughout the rest of the poem.

There must be something wrong about this. And surely it is not hard to lay our finger on the spot. When we find that the reckless suggestion of Agamemnon is contained in exactly the same 11 verses as are used in propounding it in the Ninth Book, at a time when it is natural and proper, we begin to suspect that it was not made at all; and that the perfunctory council in which it is arranged, where 16 of the 33 verses are a mere repetition of others earlier in the book, and most of the remainder occur in other parts of the poem, is a contamination devised to bring it in; and that Agamemnon never told his dream any more than Priam told Hecuba what Iris said to him about the invisible Hermes. The same suggestion to draw down the ships is made in other words at Book XIV 65–81, where it is even more

natural and proper than in the Ninth; but it borders on the ridiculous that he should make it thrice, and here it is neither proper nor natural. Cut out the whole council in verses 53–85, and you will see that the verse above adapts itself to the verse below with perfect fitness,

> οἱ μὲν ἐκήρυσσον, τοὶ δ' ἠγείροντο μάλ' ὦκα
> σκηπτοῦχοι βασιλῆες· ἐπεσσεύοντο δὲ λαοί,

and so we are into the assembly at once. Cut out the 8 repeated verses 111–118 and the 3 repeated verses 139–141, in which the suggestion of flight is proposed, and then see how the speech of Agamemnon runs. It turns out to be a strong appeal to the Greeks to put the work through at once, on the ground of disgrace in not having done it long before, instead of a weak argument for running away; and the notice of the rotten ships becomes significant and apt. But the reader, who may not be familiar with minute points of Homeric style, will perhaps be surprised that, after the first formal line of address, he goes on with *αἰσχρὸν γάρ*. But this is the habit when either an abrupt or a tentative tone is assumed by the speaker; and so Nestor begins, after a like formal line, with *πολλοὶ γὰρ* in VII 328; and so Achilles uses it in I 123 and 293. Yes, but why should the king assume a tentative tone, when the dream has arrived to render him positive? The secret is divined by Dr. Leaf: "On the meeting of the army Thersites,

before anyone else can speak, rises and attacks Agamemnon for his lustful greed in terms strictly appropriate to the occasion; 87–99 were immediately followed by 212–42." In other words, the scene with Thersites precedes Agamemnon's speech. That is why Thersites is described as an immeasurable chatterbox; and because he always says what he imagines will amuse the Greeks, he is taken as representative of the feeling of the moment, after the nine days' plague and the quarrel with Achilles; and because he proposes their running away, that is why Agamemnon, when he rises, speaks in so chastened a mood, and remarks that the ships are rotten. But I do it in a rather different way from Dr. Leaf. For I take the whole of the scene with Thersites, from *ἄλλοι μέν ῥ' ἔζοντο* in 211 down to *ὣς φάσαν ἡ πληθύς* in 278, and place it after 98 (not 99), with which it coheres very well. The result is that the heralds first stop the bustle and noise in the assembly, in order that the kings may get a hearing. Then all the rest sit still, but Thersites alone chatters on. He reviles Agamemnon and advises their running away, until he is silenced by Odysseus, an achievement which the people applaud. Then after *ὣς φάσαν ἡ πληθύς* I continue with *ἀνὰ δὲ κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων* in 100, instead of *ἀνὰ δ' ὁ πτολίπορθος Ὀδυσσεύς*, as now it is; and so comes in Agamemnon's speech, in the silence won for him by Odysseus, and so it takes its tone from the bitter attack of Thersites.

Well, the king concludes his speech, as amended above, and it is said to stir the hearts of all amid the crowd, *πᾶσι μετὰ πληθύν*: and here it is that I go on with *ἀνὰ δ' ὁ πτολίπορθος Ὀδυσσεύς*, placing it after the very same word *πληθύς* as stands before it now, but in a different context. But next to *πληθύν* now there is *ὅσοι οὐ βουλῆς ἐπάκουσαν*, he stirred the hearts of all in the crowd, as many as had not heard of the council; which is absurd in itself, for none of the commonalty could have heard of what happened in the council, so that their hearts could not have been unstirred on that account. Besides, we have cut out all about the council, and this must follow it too. And here begins the long interpolation which was beyond a doubt the motive of the whole. For after falsely making Agamemnon urge their all going home to Greece, the word *ὄρινε* is taken in the sense of stirring them to fly; whereas, when his speech is truly given as above, it means that he stirred them to a sense of their duty, and shamed the discontent revealed by the slanders of Thersites. However our interpolator, once resolved that they should fly, and having next thrust into the king's speech the borrowed verses, so as to bring it about, fly they do in the following lines, or rather set out to do so, until Odysseus at the word of Athene goes round and hunts them back to the assembly at verse 210, where the scene with Thersites now comes in, which we moved higher up before the rising of Agamemnon;

and after it comes the rising of Odysseus, which we placed just after Agamemnon's speech. So that we exclude first of all the council, in which the temptation of the people is proposed, next the verses in which the flight is suggested to the people, and lastly the breaking up of the assembly and the flight itself; and we have one continuous assembly, in which the scene with Thersites is followed by the speech of Agamemnon, and after him Odysseus speaks, and after Odysseus speaks Nestor. And when we have so done, we have removed the first 8 of the objections stated above by removing the passages on which they are founded. The scene of the flight is a capital one in itself; and the similes in 144–149, which describe the gradual commotion of the assembly, have always seemed to me as good as any in the poem. I have tried every way to save the scene by introducing it at what might seem its natural place, in the Ninth Book, after the same words of Agamemnon as are used to open it here; but it deranges everything there, where all works well without it. And you will observe that there is the same pithy sententious turn in the words of Odysseus, *οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη*, as we noticed in his speech at XIX 216–237; and as that speech, with the speech of Achilles before it, was apparently designed as alternative to the two which precede, so this scene of the breaking up of the assembly was perhaps designed as an alternative to the scene with Thersites. But the inclusion

of both has caused the dislocation of the last, and has produced a hopeless inconsequence in the motives, in the words, and in the actions of Agamemnon.

And now for the numerical effect of these changes. First of all we cut out the 33 verses about the council; then the single line and a half 99–100 ending with *παυσάμενοι κλαγγῆς*, which was set in front of *ἀνὰ δὲ κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων*, when *ὣς φάσαν ἡ πληθύς* was taken from before it, in transferring thence the scene with Thersites; next the 11 verses in which the flight is suggested; and lastly the other half line, *ὅσοι οὐ βουλῆς ἐπάκουσαν*, with the 67 lines that follow it, which depict the scene of the flight. The sum total is $33 + 1\frac{1}{2} + 11 + 67\frac{1}{2} = 113$. Deduct 113 from 454, which was our residual number after transposing the similes, and we have 341 left. By removing the odd 41 verses we remove our two remaining objections. The first relates to the story of the serpent and the sparrows, verses 299–330 in the speech of Odysseus, where the portent is said to have appeared *χθιζά τε καὶ πρωϊζά*, a day or two before; which with the largest allowance of time will scarce take us back nine years to the muster of the fleet at Aulis, where it is said to have happened. So that time and place conflict in this account, which evidently belonged to some moment of discouragement earlier in the war, to which also may pertain the scene of inceptive flight. The beginning of the story is clearly marked at verse 299 and the end at

verse 330, which is repeated at XIV 48 in concluding an account of Hector's words, as here an account of the words of Calchas. We leave in the last two verses of the speech, which are apposite to what was said before, and fitly close the allocution of Odysseus, long enough in 17 verses without the other 32. The remaining 9 come out of Nestor's speech, verses 360–368, in which he counsels the separation of the people into tribes and clans, that the worth of the leaders may be known. Some motive was supplied for their insertion by the following Catalogue, in which the tribes are enumerated under their several leaders; but this is a very different thing from proposing that the leaders should fight each apart with his separate tribe. And if it was intended to glorify Nestor, as seems to be the motive of this and other interpolations in his speeches, it fails of its effect; for none of them observe his rule, but each stands near and helps the other. The verses all vanish as clean as you please; and the speech of Nestor ends much better with the threat against anyone else who, like Thersites, should suggest their running away, *θάνατον καὶ πότμον ἐπίσπῃ*. Then the assembly closes with the spirited words of Agamemnon, which, as Dr. Leaf affirms, "are chiefly remarkable for the fact that they do not show the least consciousness, much less contain any explanation, of the diametrically opposite tone which the king of men had employed when last on

his feet"; which is true, if his former speech contained a suggestion of flight, but is not true, when it makes an appeal to the host to stay and fight it out. So much for Canto III.

And now we have finished off the whole of the Iliad; but while we are so near the beginning of the poem, I will ask the reader to turn back for one moment to Book the First. It is well known that there occurs a bad discrepancy of time between our first and second cantos, that is, between what precedes and follows verse 311. At verse 424 Thetis tells Achilles that Zeus went "yesterday" to visit the blameless Ethiopians, and that all the gods accompanied him; for which reason she cannot urge on him at once her suit to avenge Achilles' wrongs. But yesterday Apollo was shooting his shafts at the Greeks, and on this very day he is to be found at Chryse, as we learn from verse 474; and on the same day that Thetis is speaking Athene has entered the assembly at verse 194, despatched from heaven by Hera, and returns to Olympus to join the other deities at verse 222. Now if the poet had left the matter alone, we might imagine that the gods have the power of being present in all places at all times, and the lapse might possibly pass. But he cannot at once enjoy the benefit of our belief, and ask us also to believe that the reason why Thetis postpones her request is that Zeus is nowhere about. Here is an inconsistency, if ever there was one; and what are we to

do? Well, in the first place it does not touch our view of the poem in particular, but affects all others, I think, except that of Lachmann and those which are derived from him, and which indeed are mainly founded upon it. Lachmann dissected the Iliad into a number of lays, composed apart by various authors, the first of which he terminated at verse 347, before the contradiction occurs. His general view is so indefensible in itself, and is so much out of fashion at present, that words would be wasted in attacking it; but this special difficulty it does avoid. But almost every other opinion is involved in it. For almost all the rest are agreed that the First Book is to lay the foundation of the following story, and then either they must stomach a contradiction, in which case they forfeit their right to disintegrate the poem, when similar repugnancies afflict them later on; or else hold that it arises from working over the poem, which renders it vain to argue about its original form, as there is no beginning or middle or end to such work. So that if the reader has hitherto digested the difficulty, he may now repeat the process upon accepting our theory as well as another. But if he should feel, like myself, that such inconsistencies mar his enjoyment; if he find it hard to believe that any man working with a free hand would lightly commit so gratuitous a fault; if he perceives that the canon of reasoning about the author's intention is itself destroyed, when a contra-

diction of this kind is permitted to pass; if, finally, Bentley's remark keeps sounding in his ears, that a mistake about time is the surest way of detecting a cheat; then perhaps we may come to an agreement that it ought to be changed.

Now long before the particular view that I am advocating ever entered my head, I had frequently thought that the difficulty could be turned, and a blow be dealt to the theory of Lachmann, by using a pair of simple expedients. Let us place the episode of the voyage of Odysseus to Chryse, with the restoration of Chryseis, before the taking away of Briseis by Agamemnon's heralds, and Achilles' interview with Thetis. In other words, instead of following on after *ὣς οἱ μὲν τὰ πένοντο κατὰ στρατόν* in verse 318 with *οὐδ' Ἀγαμέμνων*, let us follow on with *αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς* in verse 430. We have learnt to regard such transpositions as possible; and surely this one no sooner is seen than it confirms itself. For there is at once an excellent contrast between what is being done *κατὰ στρατόν* and what is about to be done *κατὰ Χρύσην*, if the phrase be possible; whereas now there is none, when the cleansing of the camp and Agamemnon's activity take place *κατὰ στρατόν* alike. And, again, it is surely natural that the king should put off his other business until after this sacred day of atonement, and should wait to be told that all was right with heaven, before proceeding with his secular

affairs; which he could not know until after the return of Odysseus, when he hears that Apollo has accepted the hecatomb, and is emboldened thereby to proceed against Achilles.

Well, Odysseus sails to Chryse, sleeps the night, and returns next morning at verse 487. Then follow the five verses 488–492, which inform us that Achilles sat all the while in anger at the ships, and went no more either to the assembly or the war, being wounded in his pride by Agamemnon. And then comes in the further provocation of him by the king's removal of Briseis, which drives him to appeal to his mother for redress by getting the Greeks defeated, instead of his simply withdrawing from the war; and thus the design of Zeus is set afoot. So that here is the right place for

οὐδ' Ἀγαμέμνων
λῆγ' ἔριδος, τὴν πρῶτον ἐπηπείλησ' Ἀχιλῆϊ,

and it instantly gives πρῶτον a proper force, which it has not now, when the outrage of the king follows almost at once upon the quarrel in the assembly. But here a hitch occurs, which calls for our second expedient. When the voyage of Odysseus was placed after the interview of Achilles with Thetis, which ended by telling us that she left him

χωόμενον κατὰ θυμὸν ἐϋζώνοιο γυναικός,

the diasceuast wanted two thirds of a verse to go in

front of *αὐτὰρ* 'Οδυσσεύς. And so he put in *τήν ῥα βίη ἀέκοντος ἀπηύρων*, which five words have two objections against them. First, it is very unlike the poet to say in a vague manner, "whom they took away," meaning the heralds Talthybius and Eurybates, who have not been alluded to anywhere near; but he would put in *οἵ γε*, or better still *κήρυκες*, as it is 40 verses above, if not the names themselves. Then, again, one may notice that *βίη ἀέκοντος* is a twofold expression, doubly insistent, which ought properly to mean, I believe, that Achilles had resisted, or had only submitted to force, as Antinous uses it in Odyss. IV 646; whereas he resigns her to the heralds with the utmost courtesy and freedom, mortally offended with Agamemnon as he is for putting the service upon them. Hence I hold these words to be false, and suppose the interview to conclude with verse 429 as quoted above; after which should come verse 493,

ἀλλ' ὅτε δή ῥ' ἐκ τοῖο δυωδεκάτη γένετ' ἠώς.

Nor have we any need for the words, having put *αὐτὰρ* 'Οδυσσεὺς, together with the episode of the voyage, after *ὣς οἱ μὲν τὰ πένοντο κατὰ στρατόν*. But now at the conclusion of the voyage, and after the five verses about Achilles, we do require some words to go before *οὐδ' Ἀγαμέμνων*, which held the other place. And this I believe to be the sole phrase lost in the whole of Homer, not counting conjectural

alterations of particular words; and that loss was caused by changing the place of *αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεύς*, before which the false phrase was inserted and the other one struck out. But it is not hard to guess what the missing words were. They were the regular summary of the paragraph above it, which begins *αὐτὰρ ὁ μήνιε νηυσὶ παρήμενος*, so that after verse 492 we should doubtless go on with

> *ὣς ὅ γε μήνιε νηυσὶ παρήμενος· οὐδ' Ἀγαμέμνων*
> *λῆγ' ἔριδος,*

which makes a very distinct contrast between the *μῆνις* of Achilles and the *ἔρις* of Agamemnon, the resentment aroused by the original affront and the further provocation of him here, which makes Achilles appeal to his mother. And so we preserve our 300 lines.

And now where do we stand with respect to the difficulty about time? It has all disappeared, and another one too, which I did not mention before. The assembly is dissolved, and Odysseus goes to Chryse, sleeps the night, and returns next morning. Achilles, we are next told, continued sitting wrathful at the ships, and never went to the assembly nor the war. Nor did Agamemnon give over his strife, but sent the heralds to take away Briseis, as at first he threatened to do. Achilles appeals to his mother for redress, and she tells him that it cannot be done just at once, for Zeus and all the gods went away to Ethiopia yesterday, and will not be back for

another twelve days. When the twelfth day from that arrives, she soars to Olympus and intercedes with Zeus. Now the period during which Achilles sat in anger at the ships is indefinite, and we may imagine it as long as we like; which at once provides plenty of time for the gods to go away. But take it to signify no more than the day of Odysseus' return, and that the removal of Briseis occurs the same day, as well as the interview of Achilles with Thetis, which I rather think that the poet meant; yet her use of yesterday is quite correct. Apollo gets his hecatomb at Chryse the day before, delights at the sound of the psalm which is sung all day, and goes off just before sunset (as it seems from 474–475) with all the gods to Ethiopia. And although he is said to send the voyagers a favourable wind on their way back next morning, still the poet has allowed for it at verse 479, by giving him his apposite title ἑκάεργος, working from afar. And now we see clearly what the twelfth day ἐκ τοῖο means, namely from the day on which Thetis speaks to Achilles. But in our common texts, in which the voyage and return of Odysseus come between the phrase and the speaking of Thetis, there is a day too many for the reckoning of Thetis, or else ἐκ τοῖο must be referred back over the day of Odysseus' return to the day before; which is unlike the poet's usage, as may be seen from XXIV 31, where the identical line is used again.

There remains one small point to be settled. In verse 390 Achilles uses the present tense πέμπουσιν in telling his mother that the Greeks send gifts to Chryse; which might seem to import that the mission is still going on, whereas on our view it is over before his meeting with Thetis. But he is telling the whole story of the quarrel, and it is a historic present tense, employed for rapid or vivid effect, as seems to be shown by the next words νέον κλισίηθεν ἔβαν, which he uses of the heralds, implying that the other event is more remote. But perhaps it is safer to argue that he had not yet heard of Odysseus' return.

Now what was the reason of this dislocation? My belief is that it was due to the man who put an additional day into the poem for the Building of the Wall, which made it a desirable thing to save a day elsewhere. For by placing the voyage of Odysseus after the interview with Thetis, and referring ἐκ τοῖο not to the day of his return, but over it to the day on which Thetis spoke, as you can at a pinch, you include the day of his return among the twelve, so that it need not be separately reckoned. He thus respected the poet's scheme of 55 days; but he did not respect, or else did not know, another feature of this scheme, which is that you can divide it up into 5 periods of 11 days each, without infringing on one of the 3 spaces of 9 days, which are not in any way par-

TABLE OF TIME IN THE ILIAD

I		II		III		IV		V	
	Days.		Days.		Days.		Days.		Days.
Nine days' plague	9	Gods in Ethiopia	11	Return of gods Design of Zeus	1	Nine days' dispute of gods	9	Nine days' fetching wood	9
Assembly and quarrel Odysseus at Chryse	1			First day of battle Trojan agora	1	Decision in Olympus Exodus of Priam	1	Pyre of Hector	1
Return of Odysseus Achilles and Thetis	1			Burning of dead Feasting all night	1	Return of Priam Wailing for Hector	1	Tomb of Hector Feasting	1
				Second day of battle Embassy to Achilles	1				
				Third day of battle Forging of armour	1				
				Career of Achilles Vision of Patroclus	1				
				Pyre of Patroclus Winds all night	1				
				Games of Patroclus Unrest of Achilles	1				
				Abuse of Hector's corpse	3				
	11		11		11		11		11

ticularised, but are covered by the word ἐννῆμαρ. I adjoin a table of this scheme, marking only such incidents as are necessary to distinguish the days and, whenever it is possible, the nights.

On this table I will make a few remarks. First of all, when the poet says ἐκ τοῖο δυωδεκάτη, I take it in what seems the natural way, namely, the twelfth day after and exclusive of the period denoted by τοῖο. There is thus an interval of 11 days clear, between the one on which Thetis speaks and the one on which the gods are again in Olympus, during which they are either in Ethiopia or else on the way to and fro. All is simple until we come to the same expression again in Book XXIV 31, where I take it in the selfsame way, after and exclusive of the day which begins at verse 12, when Hector's body is first abused by Achilles. There is thus an interval of 11 days clear between that day and the one on which Apollo speaks up for Hector, which eventually leads to the Exodus of Priam. Now we know from verse 107 how the last 9 of these days were occupied, namely, by disputation among the gods about the conduct of Achilles; so that there remain 2 days of this interval about which nothing is explicitly said. But I think that the poet would have us understand that they are devoted like the first to maltreatment of Hector's corpse; so that I have added them on to the first, making 3 days of abusive treat-

ment, and have tabled the nine days' dispute apart, as directed by the word ἐννῆμαρ at 107; thus dividing up the whole interval covered by δυωδεκάτη. The poet says, indeed, that Achilles dragged the body thrice around the tomb of Patroclus; but he does not definitely say that it was done on each of the three days, which would have compelled us to reckon δυωδεκάτη from the last. As it is, we reckon it from the day which is expressly named. Next, it is not quite clear whether the day of Priam's return ought or ought not to be counted among the nine days which follow. At XXIV 664 Priam asks Achilles for 9 days in which to mourn for Hector, but it is not stated whether they begin on the day of Priam's return or on the morning after it. It is true that some wailing takes place as soon as Priam gets back, which looks as if that day ought to be included. But this seems to be only the first outburst of grief from the kindred at the sight of Hector's corpse; for the word ἐννῆμαρ in verse 784, taken in connection with the same word in verse 664, appears to mean a new nine days starting after the day of Priam's return, during which we may suppose the public wailing to go on, while the wood is being fetched for the pyre. And there is a circumstance which justifies this view. Priam asks also for a tenth day on which to bury Hector and feast the folk; and an eleventh day on which to make a tomb for

Hector. But we find in the end, at verses 788–802, that the feast takes place on the eleventh day, not on the tenth. So that the arrangement with Achilles is not to be construed by the letter; and then we may allow the generosity of Achilles and the misery of Priam the benefit of the doubt. By tabling the days as I have done, we can divide up the period of 55 days into 5 periods of 11 days so neatly, the middle one being more detailed than the pair on either side, that I am persuaded that the poet's scheme was such as I have drawn. Finally, if we count in another day at the end, which is not a part of the time of the poem, but is mentioned at verse 667 as the one on which the fighting is to recommence, we shall have 56 days, that is, eight of our weeks or four of our fortnights, which is an easy way to remember it.

I next insert (opposite p. 184) a Table of Cantos of the Iliad, accounting for every verse in it, and exhibiting the results of our previous discussion. It is arranged in three parallel columns, according to the three grand divisions of the poem. Each of the columns is subdivided into another three, the first of which shows the Canto; the next the verses of the Book or Books which compose it, together with all those that are to be eliminated; and the last the total number of lines in each case, together with the number that are to be subtracted, and the result, which of course is always 300. In

the second sub-columns I place at the top of each compartment all the verses down to the end of the Canto or the end of the Book, whichever comes first, and underneath them I print in italics the verses which are excised; but if the end of the Book come first, there I stop and dismiss the verses excised, before going on with the verses of the following Book which are wanted to complete the Canto. When a fraction is placed before an integer in the second sub-columns, it signifies that so much is to be taken out of the verse above that denoted by the integral number; and when it is placed after it, that so much is to be taken out of the verse below. The fractions are those of a verse of 6 feet.

I will add yet another table (p. 185), showing the opening and closing words of each canto, as I think that the reader may like to run his eye up and down it. It reveals the remarkable fact, that notwithstanding the number of repeated verses in the Iliad, the poet never begins or ends a canto twice in the same way. The nearest approximation is seen at the close of Cantos III and V, at the close of Cantos XLII and XLIV, and at the beginning of Cantos XXVII and XXXII; but even the first two cases are sufficiently distinct, and the third is materially different. The full significance of the fact I do not myself quite clearly perceive, unless it was intended to avoid confusion in enumerating the verses which compose the different cantos, and so to assist a

TABLE OF FIRST AND LAST PHRASES

I. Μῆνιν ἄειδε, θεά—
ἔβη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς.

II. οἱ μὲν ἔπειτ' ἀναβάντες—
παρὰ δὲ χρυσόθρονος Ἥρη.

III. ἄλλοι μέν ῥα θεοί—
φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν.

IV. ἔσπετε νῦν μοι, Μοῦσαι—
διέπρησσον πεδίοιο.

V. ἠΰτε πῦρ ἀΐδηλον—
φίλῃ ἐν πατρίδι γαίῃ.

VI. κήρυκες δ' ἀνὰ ἄστυ—
Ἀχαιῶν τε Τρώων τε.

VII. ἡ δ' ἀνδρὶ ἰκέλη—
ἐνιπὴν αἰδοίοιο.

VIII. τὸν δ' υἱὸς Καπανῆος—
δίδου μετὰ νῆας ἐλαύνειν.

IX. τὸν δ' ἴδεν Αἰνείας—
μένος καὶ θυμὸν ἑκάστου.

X. ἔνθ' αὖ Σαρπηδὼν—
Σιμόεις ἀνέτειλε νέμεσθαι.

XI. αἱ δὲ βάτην τρήρωσι—
ἑκατόμβοι' ἐννεαβοίων.

XII. Ἕκτωρ δ' ὡς Σκαιάς—
ἑελδομένοισι φανήτην.

XIII. ἔνθ' ἐλέτην ὁ μὲν υἱὸν—
ἐπῄνησαν βασιλῆες.

XIV. Τρώων αὖτ' ἀγορὴ—
θόρον, μνήσαντο δὲ χάρμης.

XV. ἔνθ' οὔ τις πρότερος—
ἐΰθρονον Ἠῶ μίμνον.

XVI. ὣς οἱ μὲν Τρῶες—
οὓς ἑνθάδε νῆες ἔνεικαν."

XVII. τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος—
καὶ ὕπνου δῶρον ἔλοντο.

XVIII. Ἠὼς δ' ἐκ λεχέων—
ὑφ' Ἕκτορι δάμνατο λαῶν.

XIX. ἔνθα κε λοιγὸς ἔην—
κλισίας καὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν.

XX. οἱ δ' ὅτε δὴ κλισίην—
ἐβούλετο κῦδος ὀρέξαι.

XXI. τὼ μὲν ἄρα προπάροιθε—
ὅμαδος δ' ἀλίαστος ἐτύχθη.

XXII. Ζεὺς δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν Τρῶας—
κατὰ στρατόν, ἦ μιν ἀνώγει.

XXIII. οἱ δ' ὡς Ἰδομενῆα—
ἰὼν προμάχοισιν ἐμίχθη.

XXIV. ἔνθα οἱ υἱὸς ἐπᾶλτο—
ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων.

XXV. οὐδ' ἀλαοσκοπιὴν—
βέλος δ' ἔτι θυμὸν ἐδάμνα.

XXVI. Ἀργεῖοι δ' ὡς οὖν ἴδον—
ἀνήκεστος χόλος ἔσται".

XXVII. ὣς εἰπὼν λίπε λαὸν—
κτενέειν θ' ἥρωας Ἀχαιούς.

XXVIII. οἱ μὲν τὰ φρονέοντες—
καὶ Ἀχαιῶν φύλοπιν αἰνήν.

XXIX. οἱ δ' ἅμα Πατρόκλῳ—
ἀλέξασθαι μενέαινον.

XXX. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ ἀμφοτέρωθεν—
θεοὶ δόσαν ἀγλαὰ δῶρα.

XXXI. οὐδ' ἔλαθ' Ἀτρέος υἱόν—
ἐπὶ κνέφας ἱερὸν ἔλθῃ".

XXXII. ὣς εἰπὼν ἵπποισιν—
πολέμου δ' οὐ γίγνετ' ἐρωή.

XXXIII. ὣς οἱ μὲν μάρναντο—
ὃς ἐσθλὴν φράζετο βουλήν.

XXXIV. δόρπον ἔπειθ' εἵλοντο—
παρ' Ἡφαίστοιο φέρουσα.

XXXV. Ἠὼς μὲν κροκόπεπλος—
ἰάχων ἔχε μώνυχας ἵππους.

XXXVI. ὣς οἱ μὲν παρὰ νηυσὶ—
μεγαλήτορος Αἰνείαο.

XXXVII. οἱ δ' ὅτε δὴ σχεδὸν ἦσαν—
παλάσσετο χεῖρας ἀάπτους.

XXXVIII. ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ πόρον ἷξον—
πόνον καὶ κήδε' ἔθηκεν.

XXXIX. ἑστήκει δ' ὁ γέρων—
ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα.

XL. "νῦν δὴ νῶϊ γ' ἔολπα—
ἐπὶ δὲ στενάχοντο γυναῖκες.

XLI. ὣς οἱ μὲν στενάχοντο—
μέγα δρόμου ἰσχανόωσαν.

XLII. Ἀντίλοχος δὲ τέταρτος—
μετὰ φρεσὶ θυμὸς ἰάνθη.

XLIII. καί μιν φωνήσας—
ἀποδρύφοι ἑλκυστάζων.

XLIV. ὣς ὁ μὲν Ἕκτορα δῖον—
ἐνὶ φρεσὶ θυμὸς ἰάνθη.

XLV. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν μέγα σῆμα—
τάφον Ἕκτορος ἱπποδάμοιο.

memorial artifice; or else to furnish a short title for each canto, derived from its opening phrase, and so to denominate the point from which a rhapsodist might be requested to begin.

When Wolf in the years 1794 and 1795 set the scholars of Europe by the ears about Homer, he augured that it would perhaps be impossible to show, even with probability, at what places exactly the later shreds and patches set out from the primitive web. The reader is asked to judge, in reference to the Iliad, whether this presentiment was sound, or whether, owing to a fortunate design on the part of the poet and a fortunate discovery by one of his students, it has at length been falsified; for our demonstration now is at an end. He will scrutinise without undue severity the whole of our proceeding, and above all will determine if the figures have unfairly been manipulated. I am quite alive to the fact that the handling of figures is often a delusive exercise, and that with the loose and easy syntax of the Iliad one could produce almost any number that one pleases by throwing out verses here and there. But I maintain, in the first place, that our pauses are effective and all distinctly marked; next, that our cuts are in most cases solid, simple, and clean; again, that when isolated verses are removed, they are either defective in themselves or else deficient in manuscript authority; lastly, that the passages excised coincide to a striking

extent with those already liable to learned men's suspicions; and upon the whole, that nothing has been done without fair reasons shown. Nay, as regards the long genealogies and tales in Nestor's speeches, our dealing is so far from unprincipled that it brings to light a principle of quite a different kind, which wears a great appearance of truth. For we do not pick and choose these tales and trees to suit our theory, which would not have a very convincing effect, but uniformly banish them all. And if other cases cannot be so well reduced to rule, yet it is not wholly strange that in going down the ages the great poem has contracted some accretions of this sort, from men who perhaps knew not how, for want of weight, their thoughts and their fancies could be otherwise preserved. Or if in some cases our arguments seem slender, the reader will look to the force of the whole, and will reflect that the interpolators could not always be counted on to do their work so badly as to betray itself clearly to view. The reader will be more inclined to question if there are not other verses which ought to be expelled; for it has not been convenient to interrupt our march, in order to defend all the verses that anyone may ever have assailed. I can only request him to form his own opinion, from the instances in which I thought it well to turn aside, as to whether it was worth our while to linger over lines less plausibly arraigned. My own opinion is that they can all be validly defended.

And now what is the meaning of the law of composition which regulates the poem from one end to the other? I have talked about the poet above, because the hypothesis of a single author, apart from all additions that offend against the law, seems to me by far the most simple of all. But there are two others which suggest themselves at once. First, that the presence of the law is a result of editing, and of a desire by somebody felt to present to the world in a systematic form the best remains of epic poetry. But this notion no sooner will be clearly entertained than it will be decisively rejected. Could the poem manifest the splendour that it does, if once it was stretched on a bed of Procrustes? Would it not be cruelly truncated here and racked asunder there, and have undergone most savage mutilation up and down, to adapt it to a numerical scheme imposed from without? Take the canto which includes the intercourse of Hector and Andromache. Are there any signs of its having been spun out at the beginning, or lopped off short at the close, or dilated or contracted in the middle? You could hardly deduct or annex a single line without thus impairing the perfection of the rest. Or take again the Slaying of Hector, and the Funeral Games of Patroclus, and the Exodus of Priam, the first and last of which appeal to every man by their immortal merit, and about the second of which it was said by Schiller, that no man who had read it had lived in vain. It is here, in these passages owned to

be sound, that our rule is applied with the greatest facility. And in general, if you peruse the Iliad as presented in our scheme, you will find it difficult to point out a single passage which is simply a bridge between two of the others. It is rather the poem as it usually stands which offers us specimens of these; and these reveal the sure results of editing. Nor is it at all likely that such editing would happen at a date long before the numerous accretions which now neglect its principle. The several parts must therefore have been framed first of all in the shape presented by the scheme, and not afterwards reduced to mechanical conformity with a rigid external law.

A second supposition may perhaps seem more plausible. There may have been more authors than one, and the presence of the law will then be explained by its being a thing understood, that all additions to the poem must contain 300 lines, and not a verse under or above; a convention which was afterwards ignored or forgotten. And we might try to date the disappearance of the rule to a time when the early inhabitants of Greece fled overseas to Asia Minor, in consequence of some convulsion at home, carrying the poem along with them; for certain it is that the law was at some time or other forgotten or ignored. But this account will apply just as well to the work of a single author; and the supposition itself creates serious difficulty. For even if an author of surpassing power laid down the plan,

it requires great faith to believe that any of his followers would ever have respected it. What he found so suited to his genius might hamper theirs; and if they could not insert a canto without making it consist of exactly 300 lines, we might expect to find much greater weakness in certain tracts of the poem than fairly lies to its charge. And the Doloneia, which most modern critics reject, teaches us the truth upon this subject. For here is a distinct composition ascribed to another hand, though its language reveals no great difference of age; and here the law does not apply. Besides, what sort of authority was there in those remote times to enforce their respect for a rule like this? There was then no republic of letters that we know of, as now there exists, to protest against the violation of a law of composition, and one which only few had an interest to observe. For what can it have mattered to an audience whether a canto contained 300 lines or 301? So that it all looks as if the source of the rule were a single man, and he the author of the poem, and as if he made it to guard against others meddling with his work, without trusting to the casual force of outside authority. And deeply thankful must we feel that those who meddled with it had the forbearance to keep in all his lines, instead of cutting them out to make room for their own.

But apart from all this, there is not only a particular observance of the law, but a general

design expressible in equal numbers throughout the poem. For the first third and the second third and the last third of the total number of cantos correspond with three broad divisions of the story; and if several heads were at work on it at different times, it would be strange that they hit on this happy result. It would be strange that they left Idomeneus in the central canto of the poem. It would be strange that the two opening cantos, those of the Plague and the Quarrel, when united equate with the two closing ones, of the Exodus of Priam and the Ransom of Hector; and that the next three, of the Arming of the Host, set off the penultimate three of the Games of Patroclus; and the next six, of which two are preliminary to the Prowess of Diomede in the other four, subtend the opposite six, of which two are preliminary to the Career of Achilles in the other four. And here it is not wholly true to say, as said by Dr. Leaf, that the exploits of Diomede throw those of Achilles into the shade, which is one of his arguments for breaking up the poem; but they balance one another at opposite places in the poem, only that Achilles seems by far the most tremendous of the two. But to go on, it would be strange that the peaceful scene between Hector and Andromache should come in a canto corresponding with the peaceful scene of the Forging of the Armour; and the two cantos

of the Embassy, in which Achilles is headstrong, correspond with the two of the Acts of Patroclus, in which he is punished; and the fighting which brings the Trojans to the Wall come in the five cantos before the middle one, while the fighting in the five after it brings the Trojans at last to the Ships. All this articulation and proportion and correspondence, which the reader may pursue for himself to further lengths, our theory for the first time makes plain; and it supports the hypothesis of a single author, and itself from it receives support.

And now what are the difficulties upon the other side? I really believe that if our scheme is adopted, there is not a true inconsistency left, except the one about Pylaemenes noted above. But let us be clear about the terms. The word contradiction is sometimes employed, by those who have a mind to dismember the poem, where it does not truly apply. I choose an instance, only because it happens to serve my turn, from Dr. Leaf. Speaking of some ancient critics, who transposed the colloquy of Glaucus and Diomede to a different place, he says, "Unfortunately we are not told who these critics were, nor to what place or on what grounds they transposed the colloquy. It is highly probable that we have merely the record of an opinion that it ought to come before the words of Athene in E 124–32, and the subsequent

victories of Diomedes over the gods; for with those words and acts the words of Diomedes in Z 123–43 are in crying contradiction—a contradiction perhaps the most patent in the *Iliad*, and one which can in no way be palliated." The words of Diomede are those in which he asks Glaucus whether he is a mortal or an immortal, and says that he would not fight with the heavenly gods. The reader will find a rough translation above, where we treated of Canto XI. Now the case stands thus. Athene clarifies the vision of Diomede, so that he may know a god from a man, if he should meet him in the fray. She then leaves him with a warning not to fight against the other gods, but if Aphrodite should enter the war, he is to wound her with his sharp bronze. Diomede encounters and nearly kills Aeneas; and sure enough arrives Aphrodite, throws her arms and mantle round her son, and tries to carry him off. Diomede catches her up and wounds her on the wrist; whereupon she drops her son, who is saved by Apollo, and drives away to Olympus. Diomede, in the fury of the moment, forgets Athene's advice and rushes at Aeneas in the keeping of Apollo. Thrice he rushes on, and thrice Apollo makes him reel; but the fourth time Apollo sternly reprimands him, and Diomede retires in awe. After a while Ares rallies the Trojans, and Hera and Athene resolve to settle Ares. Athene darts to

Diomede, and reproaches him for withdrawing before the Trojans. He excuses himself on the ground of fulfilling her own command by retreating before Ares, who directs the Trojans; for in fact he had retreated the moment he perceived him at V 596. Athene now bids him fear neither Ares nor any other god, inasmuch as she is there to help him, but to drive against him and to hit him. She then mounts the chariot, puts on a cap of invisibility, and when Ares reaches out across the horses with his spear, she catches hold of it and shoves from below; whereupon Diomede wounds Ares, Athene driving home the spear; and Ares departs away to Olympus, Athene and Hera following shortly after. A good deal later on comes the colloquy of Glaucus and Diomede, in which the alleged contradiction occurs, and it seems to have two parts; first, that Diomede should doubt whether Glaucus is a god or a man, when his vision has been purged by Athene; and secondly, that he should express a reluctance to fight with the heavenly gods, when he has been fighting with Aphrodite and Apollo and Ares. But can it in no way be palliated? Take the last part first. Diomede, by special exception of Athene, wounds Aphrodite. He forgets himself for a moment and rushes at Apollo, but soon receives a lesson, and never forgets it again. It requires a distinct command and assurance of present aid from Athene

to make him uplift a finger against Ares; and when she leaves his side, he is back where he was before, reluctant as ever; and so he says to Glaucus. Now take the first part. It is not stated how long the miraculous purging of Diomede's vision is supposed to last; and hence it can always be argued that his question put to Glaucus is the poet's way of intimating that the scales are on his eyes once again. But let them remain no less lucid than before. Is it an unnatural thing that a man, in the height of his surprise, should doubt the evidence of his senses? For it is the astonishment of Diomede at the gallantry of Glaucus, who advances so far in front of the rest to meet him in his victorious career, that prompts him to inquire if he is a god or only a man. And it magnifies greatly our notion of Glaucus, and prepares us for his noble utterance which follows; and such I believe to have been the exact intention of the poet. I do not call this a contradiction or anything like it; and cases of this sort I set on one side.

Now let us try our hand on another case, the notorious one of the words of Achilles to Patroclus in Book XI 609–610 and Book XVI 52–86, which are often thought to reveal a total ignorance of the Embassy in Book IX. And here I am certain to arouse the reader's mistrust; for there is a weight of sane and sober authority in favour of excluding

Book IX from the original plan of the poem because of those words. Grote states the case against it with an apparent force which is quite lacking in his exclusion of Books II–VII. The latter he excludes, not to dwell on his objections indirectly met by our excisions in Book II and in Book VII, chiefly on the ground that the design of Zeus does not begin to take effect until Book VIII. Even if it were so, there is nothing very singular in Zeus not beginning to act till the third day after his promise to Thetis, unless we reckon length of time by books instead of days. But the design of Zeus begins to operate with the opening of Book II, when he sends the dream to Agamemnon and Iris to the Trojans, in order to bring the armies face to face, after three weeks and more of inactivity; and its development is gradual, the Greeks not being defeated on the first day of all, and the gods being allowed to mix in the battle; which helps to acquaint us with the usual mode of warfare and the sympathies of the heavenly patrons. Then comes the day of truce and cremation of the dead. And now the second step is taken by Zeus, when he forbids the gods to interfere, and himself dismays the Greeks; a decisive step, preparatory to which was his trial of the temper of Olympus at the opening of Book IV, of which Grote so groundlessly complains. Then comes the Embassy to Achilles. And last of all is taken the third step of Zeus, with the third day of

battle, when he glorifies Hector in the height, before his death, and brings the Trojans down upon the ships. If we quarrel with this gradual development at all, we ought to place the continuation of Book I much later than Book VIII, and indeed inquire why Zeus did not reach his end at once, with a thunderbolt or two among the ships; but of course there is nothing offensive about it. Nor is Achilles lost sight of in these books; for in all of them except Book III, which does not well admit of it, he is kept before our minds by reference and mention. But to return to Book IX, so calm a critic as Sir Richard Jebb declares that it cannot have been known to the composer of Book XVI 52–87, and that it certainly did not belong to the original form of the poem. This looks bad for Book the Ninth. But I beseech the reader to review the question afresh, following the only safe way in such cases, first to examine with the utmost care the actual words of the poet, and then to reconstruct in his own mind, with the utmost distinctness of which it is capable, the entire situation that they paint, and especially what is passing in the mind of Achilles. If he comes across anything that he cannot reconcile with the rest, in accordance with the common rules of sequence and coherence, there is some inconsistency; and if there is nothing, there is not.

Now what is the precise ground of the grievance felt by Achilles, as it appears from his first words to

Thetis down to what are almost his last to Patroclus? Apart from his affection for Briseis herself, and his sense of Agamemnon's ingratitude, it is because the prize awarded him by all the Greeks has been taken away by Agamemnon alone. He is the victim of an outrageous act of encroachment by the king upon the rights of one of his freemen and one of his peers. This is the point of the repeated *αὐτός*, which signifies that Agamemnon is acting without sufficient authority; first in I 137, *ἐγὼ δέ κεν αὐτὸς ἕλωμαι*, where he threatens to do the thing in defiance of the general decision; next in I 161, *αὐτὸς ἀφαιρήσεσθαι ἀπειλεῖς*, where Achilles replies to the threat; again in I 185, *αὐτὸς ἰὼν κλισίηνδε*, where the threat comes nearer home, and would have cost the king his life, had not Athene intervened; and lastly in I 356, *ἑλὼν γὰρ ἔχει γέρας, αὐτὸς ἀπούρας*, where Achilles complains of his action to Thetis; the sentence being repeated by Thetis to Zeus in I 507, by Thersites in II 240, and by Nestor in IX 111, except that here *αὐτὸς* is replaced by *οὔ τι καθ' ἡμέτερόν γε νόον*. There is a sharp distinction throughout between the sovereign body of freemen, *υἷες Ἀχαιῶν*, and the chief magistrate, Agamemnon, alike in I 135, 162, 240, 276, 392, 409; in XVI 56; and in XVIII 444. And even the advisory council of elders disapproves of what the king has done, as appears from Nestor's phrase cited above. And who are the natural protectors of Achilles

against this act of tyranny? They are that same body of freemen, *υἷες Ἀχαιῶν*, who made the original award. But they fail him altogether, afraid to provoke the resentment of the powerful and vindictive Agamemnon. Nestor puts in a few words of advice at I 275–284, urging Agamemnon to forbear from his design, and Achilles to show more respect to the king. But the bitter words of Achilles at I 293–299 evince that he considers his cause to be lost, so far as popular support is concerned. And indeed he had called them men of no worth at I 231, and vowed at I 240 that the whole body of the Greeks would rue their tame submission to the king, when they felt the weight of Hector's hand without his own to shield them. He accepts the verdict, will not fight about a girl, but is resolved upon abstaining from the war. Agamemnon, encouraged by the ceasing of the plague, persists in fulfilling his threat. The temper of the assembly in Book II shows only too clearly how unpopular his action is. But Achilles remains publicly affronted, publicly subjected to injury, and publicly left in the lurch. He is treated like a settler without any rights, *ἀτίμητον μετανάστην*, as he complains both at IX 648 and at XVI 59. In these circumstances he appeals to heaven to hasten his countrymen's defeat.

And now we come to the Embassy in Book IX. Agamemnon is in despair owing to his own blind

folly in alienating Achilles. But rather than openly avow it and publicly stoop before Achilles, he proposes in assembly that they should all go home to Greece; which draws down on him a smart reproof from Diomede in return for the rebuke which he administered to Diomede in the Fourth Book. Nestor, perceiving the true solution, but too anxious to save the great king's dignity, gets the assembly out of the way by hinting at supper and the posting of sentinels, and advises Agamemnon to hold a privy council in his tent, without saying for what. In this seclusion he presses the appeasement of Achilles on the king, who readily complies, only too glad to get so quietly out of his scrape. He offers to restore Briseis, offers one of his daughters in marriage to Achilles, and offers splendid gifts besides. Nothing could appear more handsome and liberal than this offer; but it has two radical defects. First, it is merely an offer, a bargain, not a restitution; and in the next place, it is a clandestine negotiation, hatched in the retirement of Agamemnon's tent, and designed to spare that haughty ruler's feelings. The envoys are the private envoys of the monarch, and not the public spokesmen of the Greeks; and they discharge their commission under cover of the dark. Indeed they are never called by the pompous name of Ambassadors, nor their commission an Embassy, at all; and I suspect that the accident of an ancient

title to the book is at the bottom of the whole mistake. The proper way was to propose in full assembly the instant restoration of Briseis, and then begin to bargain with Achilles for his aid; and, if Agamemnon refused to be reasonable, to put compulsion upon him, as Thersites suggested at the outset, by declining to serve him any more. This is what Achilles is waiting for, as the result of his appeal to heaven. Then Agamemnon would have undergone the same humiliation as himself; then he would have got back Briseis from the Greeks, whom he had inculpated in the wrong of her removal; and then he would have got the gifts as a public compensation for the damage to his credit in putting up with the disgrace. But is it likely that he would submit to this secret healing of the quarrel, only to have Thersites and the rest making fun of him next day, and saying that Agamemnon had got the better of him twice? For the opening sentence of Odysseus, who seems to mismanage the furtive affair, betrays the fact that he comes from a council in the monarch's tent; and Achilles has a notion what that means. There is no suggestion of a public assembly in which to make a public reparation; the envoys arrive at a suspicious hour; and Odysseus lays much more stress on the fact that the offer is a bargain, only to hold good if Achilles consents to fight, than ever Agamemnon did himself. What

wonder that Achilles opens his speech with words that denounce this underhand intrigue? That he expresses his abhorrence of dishonest lying talk? That he says the king is not likely to persuade either himself or any other Greek to fight, when loyal and unselfish service is rewarded in such a way as this? That he dwells on the marked affront of taking back his prize of war alone, and on Agamemnon's trickery in dealing with him so? That he utterly distrusts the intentions of the king, whose ways he knows only too well? That he bids him contrive with Odysseus himself, and with the other scheming kings, how best to keep the fire off the ships? That, as if in despair of reasonable treatment, he talks of going home on the morrow? That he pointedly directs Odysseus to report his answer *ἀμφαδόν*, openly in public, that the scowling looks of the Greeks may be a warning, if ever the king should be minded to practise the like shameless trick upon another, the king who has not dared to look him openly in the face? That he utterly rejects the gifts, and would not accept them were they ten or twenty times as great? That he says Agamemnon will never bend his will until he makes a full and perfect satisfaction for the disgrace which is eating into his soul? And that, with a final sarcasm, he bids the envoys go and tell it all to the plotting chiefs and elders, who have failed in their attempt to

cheat him of his wrath by this stealthy reparation? "What more does Achilles want?" somebody has asked. He wants what any man of sense and spirit would want in such a case; a sincere acknowledgment of his rights, as ample and as open as their invasion was public and palpable, that he may have some security against another repetition of the outrage. It is principle, not pique, that animates Achilles.

Well, now we come to his words addressed to Patroclus in XI 609–610. "Patroclus," he says, "now I think that the GREEKS (Ἀχαιοὺς) will stick about my knees in supplication; for they are reduced to desperate straits." Absolutely right, and not to be bettered. It is the Greeks, the public, the sovereign body of freemen, who have never heard of or known or had anything to do with the secret deputation, who are now to repent of their supine neglect of his rights, who are now to make a formal acknowledgment of his wrongs, and by that very act publicly humiliate the king. The distinction is surely not difficult to seize, when the poet has so carefully described the mystery with which the former overtures were conducted. It is all a question whether Agamemnon is to suffer the same mental torment that he has inflicted on Achilles, or is to get off by some other means, with his feelings and his dignity unscarred. If we read Grote's attack on the Ninth Book with

this distinction in our mind, it is almost ludicrous to observe how every one of his arguments turns upon ignoring it. One would almost imagine that he had seen the distinction and was determined to obliterate it, so persistently does he go on about "the outpouring of profound humiliation by the Greeks," "the supplication of the Greeks," "the honours of the Greeks," "the richest atoning presents, tendered from the Greeks," all of which he falsely supposes to have been made or offered to Achilles, when not a Greek but Agamemnon and the elders secluded in his tent has had a hand in the matter. Nay, the very verses to which he directs our attention should have opened his eyes; IX 603, where there is a very clear distinction between the Ἀχαιοί and those who have offered the gifts; and XVIII 448, where there is another between the Ἀχαιοί and the γέροντες Ἀργείων, who have made the supplication. Surely, if the poet had meant that the gifts were offered on behalf of the Greeks, he could hardly have avoided dropping a word to apprise us of his meaning; whereas the distinction throughout is steadily maintained.

Turn again to the words of Achilles in Book XVI 52–86. The same grievance is stated, that Agamemnon has by an arbitrary act defrauded his peer, and dishonoured his best warrior like an unfree alien; a grievance still unredressed, as was before implied by the words of Poseidon in XIII 111–113.

"If he would but be kind to me in his conscience," says Achilles, who is evidently longing to be in the field again, "the Trojans soon would fly; but now they are fighting around the camp." He still awaits some proof of Agamemnon's sincerity. Meanwhile he sends forth Patroclus, so as just to save the ships, instructing him how to act, "that you may procure great price and credit for me from ALL the Greeks, and that THEY may remove the lovely damsel back, and furnish glorious gifts besides." It is to be a complete public restitution, with adequate damages, as the injury was public and the insult touched his fame; and nothing at all like the dark negotiation got up to spare Agamemnon's pride.

The death of Patroclus forces Achilles' hand. In Book XIX, regardless of all else but the memory of his friend, he summons the assembly, and renounces his wrath, and declares his intention of fighting. Long and loud is the applause; and considerable is the confusion of Agamemnon. The gifts are publicly exposed; Briseis is publicly restored; and a public oath is taken, no doubt to confute Thersites and his like, that Achilles is no sufferer by her temporary absence. His formal reinstatement in his rights is complete, and all is happily over. Not a single contradiction occurs in the whole of it.

I choose a final instance of alleged inconsistency, not because it is a serious one in itself, but because it raises a question not without interest to readers

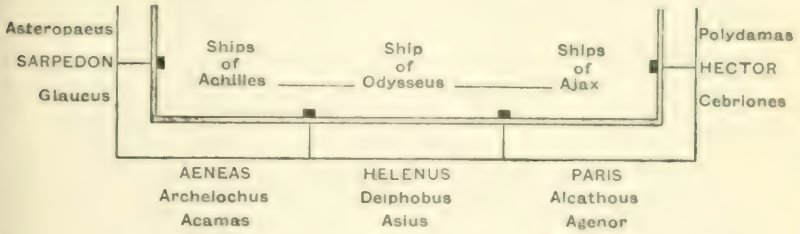
who would distinctly grasp another conception of the poet. In Book XIII 674–684, when the Trojans have carried the Wall, but Idomeneus has re-entered the battle, it is said that Hector did not know that his host was being slaughtered on the left of the ships, but held on where at first he sprang within the gate and the Wall, where the ships of Ajax and Protesilaus were, and the Wall was lowest built, and where the horses and men were especially free to act. Now Idomeneus, to whom this slaughter is due, entered the battle on the Greek left, as appears from his words in 312–327, where he tells us also that the Ajaxes and Teucer are defending the ships in the middle. Thus it would seem as if in the previous passage the poet also meant the Greek left, and therefore Hector's right; from which it would follow that Hector is somewhere about the centre. But we are further told in that passage that Hector was near the ships of Ajax, and yet we know from Book XI 5–9 that the ships of Ajax are at one end of the camp, and that the ships of Achilles are at the other, while the ship of Odysseus is in the middle. Then how can Hector both be in the centre and be near the ships of Ajax? This difficulty compelled Aristarchus to suppose that the other Ajax, son of Oïleus, was meant. But we cannot accept his view; for Ajax, son of Telamon, is always meant unless the other is specified, and in XV 705–746 he is near about the ship of Protesilaus. Hence Dr.

Leaf says on 673, "Hector, it appears, is in the centre of the battle"; and again on 681, after referring us to XI 5–9, "But we need not trouble ourselves about the discrepancy with so late a passage as the introduction to Λ"; a passage which I hold to be no later than the rest. How, then, are we to reconcile this seeming discrepancy?

First, I lay down that the poet does not use the terms right and left from one point of view, but varies it when he is speaking of a Trojan or a Greek. Thus in XI 498 he says that Hector was fighting toward the left of the whole battle, by which he clearly means the Trojan left, because he adds, "by the banks of the river Scamander," which in the poet's view flows along the west of the plain, and the Trojans face to the north. So, too, concerning Ares, who befriends the Trojans, it is said at V 355 that Aphrodite, who is also their friend, found him sitting on the left of the battle; which is the Trojan left, because he was set down by Athene on the bank of Scamander at verse 36 of the same book. Then again, when Idomeneus re-enters the battle, it must be the Greek left, for Idomeneus is speaking and says to Meriones at XIII 326, *νῶϊν δ' ὧδ' ἐπ' ἀριστέρ' ἔχε στρατοῦ*, "hold on here toward the left of the host TO US." And at XIII 675 in the other passage it must be Hector's left again, because he puts in the pronoun *οἱ* before *νηῶν ἐπ' ἀριστερά*, "toward the left TO HIM," that is, to Hector.

Now the question is how Hector's left and the Greek left alike mark out the place where Idomeneus has been slaying. It is clear that Hector cannot be in the centre, but must be on the Trojan right, beyond the region where the Cretan hero does his execution. And this is borne out by what is said of his being near the ships of Ajax at one extremity of the line; nor is it very probable that the Wall would be built the lowest in the middle, yet it is said to be lowest where Hector and the ships of Ajax are. But then it seems strange that Hector and Idomeneus being so near at hand, one should not know what the other is doing. This I take to depend on the configuration of the Wall. I do not know how my reader usually conceives of the Wall, whether as one straight line or how. But, for myself, I find it easiest to think of it as a rectangular or at least a curvilinear structure. This seems to agree with what is said at XIV 35, that the ships were drawn up in rows on the beach, and at XII 5, that the Wall was built for their defence, and the trench driven round about; for it is only natural that the Greeks should cover up their flanks as well as their front. Let us suppose it, then, to present three sides of a rectangle, parallel with the trench, as shown in the following plan; and let us place over against it, from our right to left, the 5 Trojan companies under 3 leaders each, in the exact order described by the poet at XII 88–104, where he narrates the method of attack.

I have put the groups in the order described, but not the names in each group; for it seems reasonable to suppose that the chief leaders, such as Hector or Sarpedon, are supported on either hand by the other two. So Aeneas would have Archelochus on one side and Acamas on the other; and so again with Paris. I have put in a gate on our right front, as well as one on the left flank, but only for the sake of its symmetry; for the poet makes mention of no more than two. The



first is the one at which Asius charges in his chariot, but is foiled by the presence of the two Lapithae. Now he is said at XII 118 to go toward the left, which according to our rule signifies his own left, and there we place a gate. But Aristarchus seems to have thought that it meant the Greek left, and so made the gate identical with the other one mentioned at XIII 679, which is the one where Hector breaks in; coming to the strange conclusion that there was only this one gate to the whole camp, and that it was on the Greek left. Whether

there were really more than these two we cannot well determine; and perhaps there were not. For the gate on the right front is never mentioned; and as for the one on the left flank, the river might prevent an easy passage for the Greek chariots there, and it is not convenient to imagine too ready an access to the ships of Achilles. But one thing is now explained. At XVI 558 Patroclus says that Sarpedon was the first man to leap upon or within the Wall; whereas at XII 438 the same thing is said of Hector. Now Sarpedon was in fact the first man to tear down a large piece of the battlements, as is stated at XII 397, though Hector first gets through the gate. And those about the ships of Achilles would catch a sight of Sarpedon first, and tell Patroclus of it, who was meanwhile in the tent of Eurypylus; but of Hector at the opposite side of the camp they could know nothing. So that the two verses are easy to reconcile, if there were any need to do it.

Well, Hector is on the extreme right, the strongest man attacking where the Wall is lowest and weakest, and there he keeps on after getting through, near about the ships of Ajax. But Ajax himself is not there, but is defending the ships in the middle, as stated by Idomeneus at XIII 312; though during the attack on the Wall he was called away for a while by Menestheus to help

against Sarpedon and his Lycians. And so we find that only after Hector has quitted his post at XIII 754, in quest of Helenus and Deiphobus and Asius, does he encounter Ajax at 809. Now suppose Idomeneus to enter the battle midway in advance of the ships of Ajax and Odysseus, which is a fair allowance for his entering the fight toward the Greek left. Then the Greek left and Hector's left would equally describe the scene of his prowess; and yet Hector might not know anything of it through his being round the corner. And we may observe that this position would give both Hector and Polydamas a prolonged view of the eagle which at XII 200 skirts the Trojan host from right to left, or, as it is said, keeps them off to its left, passing from east to west, and dropping a glittering snake from its talons in the middle of the throng, about opposite the soothsayer Helenus; which causes a conversation on omens between Polydamas and Hector. And again, the Trojan warriors whom Idomeneus would encounter on either hand are Paris, Alcathous, Agenor, and Helenus, Deiphobus, Asius; all of whom he does. He slays Asius and Alcathous, is attacked by Deiphobus, who summons Aeneas to his aid, and they are assisted by Paris and Agenor; which brings the Cretan to a stand. For after this he merely slays Oenomaus, a minor hero, and soon withdraws himself, being some-

what old and tired. So that all is clear and free from inconsistency, when the thing is accurately conceived.

That there are some improbabilities in the story, as presented in our scheme, I do not deny. It is no doubt improbable that the Greeks, after the treacherous Rupture of the Truce, should trust the Trojans again; whereas the next day they conclude an armistice for the Burning of the Dead. But the two duels which occur on the first day of battle, in Book III and in Book VII, do not appear to me to constitute an improbability—certainly not one sufficient to make us say, with Sir Richard Jebb, that both episodes cannot be due to the same hand. For, as Dr. Leaf fairly puts it, one duel is proposed as a decisive ordeal, designed to finish the war, and the other is a mere trial of prowess entered upon out of a spirit of emulation in the course of the fight; to which his chief objection is that it approaches near to the limits of an anticlimax. But about this opinions may differ. Again, there is a certain degree of improbability in the fact that Priam does not know by sight the chief heroes on the Grecian side, until he is told their names in the Teichoscopia by Helen; and in the amount of matter which the poet puts into some of his days in comparison with others. But this sort of improbability is found in most stories, and does not touch the question

of authorship. It is really a question between the author and his audience, how far he should ask them to submit to his straining of fidelity to nature in one direction, for the sake of such advantages as can only result from allowing it. The best of poets is apt to misjudge in this respect; but, for my own part, I must say that there is nothing in the Iliad that I could wish away.

Again, there is undeniably a certain difference of emphasis in the Catalogue, but there appears to be no discrepancy from other parts of the Iliad; which is surely most remarkable, when we consider the great number of details which that document contains, affording many chances of a slip. It seems to me a tenable proposition that the poet has devoted this canto to a record of his knowledge about several tribes, such as the Boeotians and Arcadians, of whom he had not much to say in the sequel. But the phrases about Boeotian origin and Hesiodic school, which are so freely applied to the Catalogue, must to the eye of sober reason appear misapplied; for if not as regards Boeotia itself, yet as regards the not very distant region of Thessaly, the geography seems to be specially confused. And let me add, though it may not be strictly relevant, that the Catalogue, however ill-fitted for public recitation, well repays a quiet hour's perusal, and has many good things, of which

I may instance one. The poet has already told us, or is about to tell us, that Achilles was the strongest man and the swiftest man, and also the best fighter, and had the best horses of all the Grecian host. But were he to insist that Achilles was the handsomest of all, it might seem to make him impossibly perfect, and more like one of the late Mr. Henry Seton Merriman's heroes than one of Homer's own. Yet this perfection also the poet is resolved that his hero shall have. And behold how he does it: "NIREUS, again, brought three shapely ships from Syme; NIREUS, the son of Aglaia and King Charops; NIREUS, who was the fairest man of all the Greeks who came up to Troy, after the perfect son of Peleus: yet he was but a feeble wight, and few people followed him." Whilst those three clanging strokes upon the name of Nireus are ringing in our ears, he covertly instils into our minds the honied detail about the beauty of Achilles; after which Nireus, having done his work, is dismissed as a weakling and never is heard of again. So completely indeed is he forgotten, that much the same thing is said about the comeliness of Ajax in Book XVII 279; but perhaps it there relates to bodily figure, in which Achilles no less excels, and here to the features of the face. This instance seems to bring us close to the secret of Homeric charm. It is a faultless but a guileless art, which we discern with a little attention, smile,

and love the poet all the more because of it; and even in the Catalogue its virtue does not fail. Lastly, I may admit that I see traces here and there that certain parts of the poem were afterthoughts of their author; but these I do not feel bound to disclose to the reader.

And now I will end with a short description of a text of the Iliad as I should like to see it printed. The interpolations, when once settled among scholars, should be removed from the text entirely. They disturb the harmony of the poem and obstruct its onward flow. The verses which are mere mistakes or repetitions, and which possess little significance beyond themselves, might be printed at the bottom of the page, where they could be despatched by the reader at a single glance. But the larger interpolations, including the Doloneia, would be much better consigned to an appendix, where they could be studied and compared, in respect of language, law, manners, and religion, both with one another and with the original poem. It is possible that a new perspective may be found to arise among them, if one can be shown to imply the previous existence of another, which it would be a matter of some interest to trace; but it is premature to enter on this work at present. In the text itself it is too late now to change the old numeration, which ought to be retained, with a number not alone against every fifth line, but

against the lines before and after an interpolation which has thence been removed. But the separation into books I would close up altogether, only marking in the margin with a Greek capital letter the line where each of them begins, and repeating the letter and the number of the book at the top of every right-hand page, for purposes of easy reference. Then between each canto should be left a space of one or two lines, but not much more; for the poem is a woven song, which will not bear with any wide division of its parts. But should it be necessary to print the Iliad in more volumes than one, I would rather have it printed in three volumes than in two, each of them embracing fifteen triacosiads. To number all the verses of the cantos is unnecessary, for reference will be made as in the past to the verses of the books, and the space is sufficient to denote the conclusion of a separate triacosiad. But the number which each canto bears should be annexed, by preference in the left-hand margin, as the number of the book is on the right; and it might perhaps be repeated at the top of every left-hand page, against the number of the book upon the right. The Greek titles of the episodes should also be retained, and distributed along the head of the page, as in the Cambridge text of Mr. Platt. But it would be useful if scholars in association could agree to supplement and revise them, if required, so that

each canto might possess a title of its own, derived from its leading incident, by which it would familiarly be known. This task they are as competent to undertake for Homer as the critics of antiquity, by whom the present titles were assigned. The reader would then recognise his way about the poem, which may be slightly blurred by abolishing the books; and his eye would detect at once its whole concatenation, which is more than all the rest to be desired. If such a text be printed, I venture to predict that the Iliad will be studied with an increase of zeal from an increase of faith in one author's design, and will not only be beloved, as heretofore, for its wealth of incident and variety of characters, steeped in a depth of unadulterated feeling, but honoured as a work of almost superhuman art.

562 771	306 – 5 – 1	XLIV.	xxiv. 22 – 321	300
	300	XLV.	xxiv. 322 – 804	483
367	305		*322 – 348*	– 27
675	– 2		$\frac{3}{4}$1352 – *1685*$\frac{1}{2}$	– 118
900	– 2		*602 – 620*	– 19
736,			*677 – 694*	18
737	– 1		*790*	– 1
	300			300

he $\frac{1}{3}$ before 319 completed as suggested above, page 177.
$277\frac{3}{12}$ and continue with $\frac{7}{12}$ 101.
έροισι read *ἀλλήλοισι* : see page 80 above.

APPENDIX

ON THE ODYSSEY

THE first question of the reader who may have felt the force of the cumulative argument stated above will be this: "If such is the case with the Iliad, what is the case with the Odyssey?" To which our answer is: There is just such another rule applicable to the Odyssey, and it is a much simpler rule to follow out, as soon as its secret is discovered. It shows that the Odyssey originally contained 11,700 verses, and consequently that there are 410 verses too many in the vulgate text. The foregoing inquiry into the Iliad has been conducted without much reference to the other poem, mainly because I did not light upon the Odyssean number until late, but worked out the scheme of the Iliad independently, before making a thorough search into the conditions of its compeer. There were several reasons which induced me to take this course. The first was that, even if such a law existed in the Odyssey, it could have but little bearing on the question whether both the poems were composed by the same man or not. For the Odyssey no more displays signs of familiarity with writing than the Iliad; and therefore if such a law was intended to meet a defect in the means of transmission, as seems the most probable account of it, it was just as likely that the author of one poem would have had recourse to it as the author of the other. Indeed the supposition is initially more probable in the case of the Odyssey than in that of the

Iliad. For there are a great number of formal lines in it, like *διογενὲς Λαερτιάδη, πολυμήχαν' Ὀδυσσεῦ*, which, without a written text, it must have been almost impossible to know when to put in and when to leave out, unless we suppose some such rule of guidance as a definite number of verses. But for a rhapsodist with a rosary this would not prove so hard. My opinion however was, and is still, that the two poems were due to different authors; and since the presence of a similar law in both would not tend to overthrow it, there was little other reason to think that the intentions of one poet would throw much light on the intentions of the other. The second reason was that the matter is of much less importance in the Odyssey than in the Iliad. We can all of us see our way clearly through the Odyssey, whereas most of us stick at some point of the Iliad, lose the thread, resume at a favourite place, or only persevere with the whole from a sense of duty. It is over the Iliad that the battle has been waged; for grand as that poem is, in its present state it can scarcely be read from cover to cover with a perfect sense of enjoyment. But in the Odyssey these troubles are not felt. Lastly, I must admit that after a few abortive trials at the Odyssey had revealed no similar law, I was in no great hurry to find it; for it seemed to me that the number in the Iliad must be confessed to be pretty plain and obvious, when all attempts at reducing the Odyssey to a like conformity to rule had ended in failure.

Nevertheless a desire to ascertain the truth upon this subject, and to derive a confirmation of our view about the Iliad from a poem much akin to it, and separated, as Mr. Andrew Lang has shown, from the Cyclic poems as Achaean from Ionian, not to speak of the great philological interest of such a rule, if found, prompted me to renew

the inquiry with more diligence. And the result of it is this. The poet of the Odyssey employs a canto half as long again as Homer, consisting of 450 verses, or if two of them be taken together, making a section of 900 lines. This is much about what we might expect, considering the lighter character of his verse. There are 26 cantos in all, and the exact middle of the poem is after XII 142. The first 6 cantos take us down to the moment when the hero falls asleep on the coast of Phæacia, at the close of the Fifth Book. The next 6 conclude with the interruption of his Narrative to Alcinous at Book XI 332. The next 2, the central pair of the poem, which have to effect the difficult transition from his foreign to his domestic adventures, are peculiar in several respects, but chiefly in this, that the last of them ends at XIII 145, not indeed in the middle of a speech, but in the middle of a duologue between Poseidon and Zeus, in which the hostile and the friendly god are reconciled about the hero's fate. In the first part Poseidon bitterly complains of the safe return of Odysseus, and Zeus, sagely disclaiming all idea of diminishing Poseidon's prestige, gives him full leave to avenge himself at leisure. This seems to foreshadow the hero's mild death from the sea, already foretold in XI 127–137 and remembered at XXIII 274–284. A pause ensues, during which this politic answer takes effect, and in the second part Poseidon waives his right to instant vengeance on Odysseus, but expresses a desire of blotting out at once the Phæacians, who have transported the hero in safety to his native shores. Zeus abets the project, and the brothers are at one. The next 6 cantos carry us on through the Recognition by Telemachus in the swineherd's hut, and the Boxing with Irus in the palace, to the Removal of the Arms overnight at XIX 52. And the last 6, beginning with the Conversation with Penelope on the

same night, take us down to the end of the poem at XXIV 548.

I append a scheme of the Odyssey constructed on similar lines to that of the Iliad. The reader will be able to find out most of the arguments for excluding irregular verses by consulting editions of the poem. He will learn from Mr. Merry, for instance, why I 99–101 are excluded; and from Mr. Monro (Appendix, p. 312) why I 238 is excluded here, but retained at XIV 368, while I 239–240 are here retained, but excluded at XIV 369–370. He will find the Cambridge Homer of Mr. Platt in some places a useful corrective to Mr. Monro, who was not so conservative in dealing with the Odyssey as he was in dealing with the Iliad. In a few cases, such as XII 420–425, he may have to look for objections in a German book, such as Otto Seeck's *Die Quellen der Odyssee*, for I do not know that any English editor has spoken of them. In other cases he will soon discover the objections for himself, when once his attention has been drawn to the passages. He will notice small points, such as *παννύχιος* in I 443 and *παννυχίη* in II 434, which warn us against starting a new canto with a new day, and will remember what we said about Iliad VII 476–478. In fact this poet never begins a canto with a dawn, unless XII 143 be counted as such a case, though he has mentioned that phenomenon as often perhaps as any poet that ever sang. Like his predecessor, he never opens or closes a canto twice alike. Unlike his predecessor, he sometimes divides his cantos in the course of a speech, but only when this speech is a long narrative, like that of Odysseus, which is divided at IX 104 and IX 555 and X 448 and XII 142, or that of Menelaus, which is divided at IV 440; an exception which explains itself. The reader will observe that we retain the Song of Demodocus in VIII 266–369, and the latter part of the

Scene in Hades in XI 568–629, and the Conclusion in XXIII 297–XXIV 548, with certain excisions. As to the first, there does not appear to be any sort of reason, except a prudish one, for rejecting it. The second is a striking passage, which I readily concede could hardly have occurred in the Iliad, but which seems to me by no means so unlikely in the Odyssey. The last, though it exhibits some traces of hasty workmanship, perhaps not unnatural at the end of a lengthy poem, is so plainly anticipated, at least as regards Laertes, in I 187–193 and other places, that the story would be incomplete without it. Finally, let me say that I do not wish to thrust this scheme or any other down the reader's throat, least of all in the Odyssey, where it can perfectly well be done without. But experience has taught me that one's pleasure in reading the poem, and one's sense of security in pressing home the poet's meaning, are enhanced by a confidence in its substantial correctness; and it may be that others will experience the same or a similar result.

Canto.	Book.	Number of Verses.
I.	i. 1–444 *99–101* *238* *356–359* ii. 1–14	444 – 3 – 1 – 4 + 14 450
II.	ii. 15–434 iii. 1–30	420 + 30 450
III.	iii. 31–481 *78*	451 – 1 450
IV.	iii. 482–497 *493* iv. 1–440 *285–289*	16 – 1 +440 – 5 450
V.	iv. 441–847 v. 1–43	407 + 43 450
VI.	v. 44–493	450
VII.	vi. 1–331 vii. 1–132 *56–68*	331 +132 – 13 450
VIII.	vii. 133–347 viii. 1–235	215 +235 450
IX.	viii. 236–586 *303, 346* ix. 1–104 *30, 89–90*	351 – 2 +104 – 3 450
X.	ix. 105–555 *483*	451 – 1 450
XI.	ix. 556–566 x. 1–448 *189, 253, 265* *368–372, 430*	11 +448 – 3 – 6 450
XII.	x. 449–574 *456, 470, 482* *504, 565* xi. 1–332 *60, 92, 245*	126 – 3 – 2 +332 – 3 450
XIII.	xi. 333–640 xii. 1–142	308 +142 450
XIV.	xii. 143–453 *420–425* xiii. 1–145	311 – 6 +145 450

Canto.	Book.	Number of Verses.
XV.	xiii. 146–440	295
	320–323	− 4
	347–348	− 2
	xiv. 1–164	+164
	154	− 1
	161–162	− 2
		450
XVI.	xiv. 165–533	369
	369–370	− 2
	457–522	− 66
	xv. 1–159	+159
	63, 74	− 2
	113–119, 139	− 8
		450
XVII.	xv. 160–557	398
	295	− 1
	xvi. 1–53	+ 53
		450
XVIII.	xvi. 54–481	428
	101, 295–298	− 5
	xvii. 1–27	+ 27
		450
XIX.	xvii. 28–606	579
	49, 107–150	− 45
	505–588	− 84
		450
XX.	xviii. 1–428	428
	158–186	− 29
	393	1
	xix. 1–52	+ 52
		450

Canto.	Book.	Number of Verses.
XXI.	xix. 53–507	455
	60, 153	− 2
	175–177	− 3
		450
XXII.	xix. 508–604	97
	xx. 1–370	+370
	66–82	− 17
		450
XXIII.	xx. 371–394	24
	xxi. 1–434	+434
	15–37	− 23
	66, 276	− 2
	295–302	− 8
	xxii. 1–25	+ 25
		450
XXIV.	xxii. 26–477	452
	43, 191	− 2
		450
XXV.	xxii. 478–501	24
	xxiii. 1–372	+372
	127–128	− 2
	218–224	− 7
	310–343	− 34
	xxiv. 1–97	+ 97
		450
XXVI.	xxiv. 98–548	451
	121	− 1
		450

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